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The Princeton theological  
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# The Princeton Theological Review

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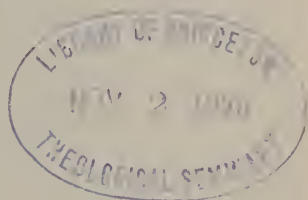
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## THE PRESENT CRISIS IN ETHICS\*

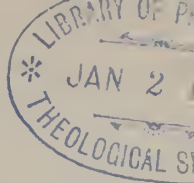
"It is a fact worth weighing," says one of the most learned and judicial of our present day writers on Christian ethics,—  
"it is a fact worth weighing that for some two hundred years or more after the Reformation and the rise of modern philosophy no one ever questioned the supremacy of the Christian ethic, though from every other quarter inroads were being made upon the received traditions."<sup>1</sup>

So recently, indeed, as 1873 Mr. John Stuart Mill, the ablest as well as the fairest of modern unbelievers, wrote as follows: "About the life and sayings of Jesus there is a stamp of personal originality combined with profundity of insight, which, if we abandon the idle expectation of finding scientific precision where something very different was aimed at, must place the Prophet of Nazareth, even in the estimation of those who have no belief in his inspiration, in the very first rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast. When this preëminent genius is combined with the qualities of probably the greatest moral reformer, and martyr to that mission, who ever existed upon earth, religion can not be said to have made a bad choice in pitching on this man as the ideal representative and guide of humanity."<sup>2</sup> Nor are such testimonies exceptional. Unbelievers in dogmatic Christianity from widely different standpoints have united in exalting its ethics. When the charge was brought by Christians that the bitter attacks on Christian dogma must issue in the overthrow of Christian morality, it was hotly resisted by scientists and by litera-

\* An Address delivered in Miller Chapel on September 26, 1918, at the Opening of the One Hundred and Seventh Session of the Seminary.

<sup>1</sup> Thornton, *Conduct and the Supernatural*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 253.





teurs like Huxley and Matthew Arnold. Whatever some may have thought, they did not dare even to hint that by undermining faith in the supernatural they were condemning morality itself. When Tennyson did say this, in "The Promise of May" the late Lord Queensbury protested on the first night and made a scene at the Globe Theatre in London. This means that the opponents of supernatural revelation have agreed with the believers in such revelation in holding "the supremacy of the Christian ethic," in teaching that the true rule of life is, to quote again Mr. Mill, "so to live that Christ would approve our life."<sup>3</sup> Thus in ethics the demand of our age has been "Back to Christ."

Within twenty-five years all this has changed. There has been a revival of paganism. Our Lord has been denied as "the ideal man" as he had been rejected as "the mighty God." Formerly Christians were charged with hypocrisy because, though professing to follow Christ, they were not Christlike. Now they are maligned because they would be Christlike. The accusation is not that we do not come up to our ideal, but that we have an ideal so unworthy. Our Lord himself is scorned, not because he is not the revealer of love, but because he is.

Nay, it is not so much the unworthiness of our ideal that is against us: it is that we have an ideal at all. From this point of view, we have not to find out what is right, but rather to make sure what we want and then to make ourselves masters of it. The standard has not been altered, all standards have been abolished. The true man is "the superman," and "the superman" is "beyond good and evil." Thus the cry of to-day has come to be, Go back on Christ and return to nature.

No one has voiced this demand more boldly and even shamelessly than he who is credited with having first made it. Let, then, Frederick Nietzsche speak for himself. These are his words: "No one hitherto has felt Christian morality beneath him; to that end there were needed light and remote-

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<sup>3</sup> *Theism*, p. 235.



ness of vision, and an abysmal psychological depth not believed to be possible hitherto. Up to the present Christian morality has been the Circe of all thinkers—they stood at her service. What man before my time had descended into the underground cavern from out of which the poisonous fumes of the ideal—of this slandering of the world burst forth!”<sup>4</sup>

“That which deifies me, that which makes me stand apart from the whole of the rest of humanity, is the fact that I have unmasked Christian morality. Christian morality is the most malignant form of all falsehood, the actual Circe of humanity, that which has corrupted mankind.”<sup>5</sup>

In the face of such a contrast as this can it be doubted that we are in the midst of an ethical revolution; and that this is the most appalling revolution that the world has known? Christ or nature? That is the issue. Get it clearly before you, and keep it ever before you. Shall we continue to regard Christ as “God manifest in the flesh,” as the One, consequently, whose nature and character both constitute and determine obligation; as the One, that is, because of whose holiness we ought to be holy, and in whose earthly life we see as nowhere else what holiness is and so what we ought to do and to be: or shall we deny that there is any ideal; and affirm that nature, or what we want, has taken the place of oughtness or obligation? This is the question.

I. Let us examine this substitute for the ideal, the ethical, in the light of its origin. Concerning men we may often learn much from a study of their ancestry. It is even more so in the case of moral and spiritual movements. They are not likely to rise higher than their source, and they are sure to be colored by their source. The contributory causes, then, of this reactionary movement in morals may be set forth as follows:

(1) Rationalism. As another has said, “we are still suf-

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<sup>4</sup> *Ecce Homo*, p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> *Ecce Homo*, p. 139.

fering from the long supremacy of reason which swayed the 18th century." It is generally taken for granted, not only that the ordinary man can of himself discern and reject what, because it contradicts reason, must be untrue, which is the case; but also that there is no sphere which is "above reason," so that any one can come by the light of his own unaided intellect to safe and healthy opinions about the deepest and most mysterious things in personal experience. In this way at the impulse of rationalism supernatural revelation has given place to natural inclination. "Thus saith the Lord" has been supplanted by, I want; and the categorical imperative has simply lapsed. It could not have been otherwise. When any finite, not to say sinful, being assumes that he is self-sufficient, we have the beginning of the end.

(2) Naturalism, or the theory of evolution. In itself this might not have produced a revolution in ideas concerning morality. But it did not stand alone. Rationalism at once saw in it an ally. Evolution claimed to explain everything. It made the principle of life one—the same for man as for the protoplasm and for all that lies between them. It follows that man's complex nature is no longer wrapt in mystery. His moral consciousness is not a divine enigma sent down from heaven into an animal organism from which it is entirely distinct and different. It is itself a thing evolved; perhaps a mass of evolved instincts, each and all stretching their roots down and back into the lower realms of nature.

Now this "clearing up things hitherto thought mysterious and baffling to the reason was," as Thornton has said in his remarkable book "Conduct and the Supernatural," "a signal proof, so it seemed, of the rationalistic contention that the human intellect will unaided solve infallibly all mysteries and unlock all doors."<sup>6</sup> "This new impetus is seen at work even as early as David Strauss, and later in Professor Karl Pearson as well as in Nietzsche. The easy-going fashion in which Strauss picked the historic creed to pieces in his

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<sup>6</sup> Page 6.

last work by a process of shallow logic reaches its climax in the few pages toward the end of the book, in which he dismisses the ethical teaching of our Lord. Here we find the rationalist's blind faith in the intellect; and this unwholesome temper, wielding the newly forged weapon of naturalism, relies upon nature to supply a basis for morality, without respect to existing moral standards or to the sanctions from which their authority has hitherto been derived."<sup>7</sup>

(3) The Idealistic Philosophy. We may not pause to trace the development of this from its seed in Kant's negative teaching to its fruit in Hegel's absolutism. Suffice it to say that Descartes' healthy tendency to emphasize the Individual, the result of all that was best in the Reformation movement, gave place to Hegel's elevation of the Universal Reason as the centre of interest. But note the consequences of this change. As Thornton says, "when once men lose faith in the objective value of their own personality as a separate independent reasoning power and seek to form a philosophical system which deals primarily in universals, the result always seems to be fatal; the individual ceases to be of interest, and the vision is filled with a great cosmic power which moves through the ages, fulfilling its inscrutable destiny regardless of pigmy man and his little struggles. This is the course which things have taken during the past century."<sup>8</sup>

But this is not the worst. As rationalism and naturalism or evolution combined, so these two streams are swollen by a third. Idealism, especially in its pantheistic form, has appropriated the doctrine of evolution as the latter had been embraced by rationalism; and the great cosmic movement with which this most composite philosophy now presents us, not only disregards, but overshadows and must destroy, the significance of all the different elements of personality. The rationalist despises all emotion, while he assumes that the will is ever ready to follow a clear track when reason has

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<sup>7</sup> *Conduct and the Supernatural*, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Conduct and the Supernatural*, p. 7.

provided one. The naturalist regards conscience as only the aggregate of a number of prejudices and interests which have been evolved from the humblest beginnings, and which cannot, therefore, be placed in the seat of authority. The idealist doubts the validity of the individual reason; but as he has usually imbibed rationalistic suppositions to a greater or less degree, he proceeds by means of reason, to build up a system in which there is no place for the freedom of the will. Thus heart, conscience and will are perverted or destroyed. How, then, can morality continue? We find ourselves at once in a sphere which is "beyond good and evil."

(4) The repudiation of Christian dogma. Of all the causes of the revolution in ethics this is the most important. It is so, both because it is that on which the three causes just considered concentrate, and also because it is that which, in the nature of the case, must itself alone destroy the Christian ethic. Rationalism, naturalism, idealism,—the *bête noir* of these is the Supernatural. They and it are mutually exclusive. Either they or it must go. Hence, it is that they all unite in attacking the Supernatural. Their life depends on so doing.

Now Christian dogma, that is, supernatural revelation systematized, is both the foundation and the root of Christian ethics. It is that on which it is based; it is that out of which it grows. Thus the two things, dogma and ethics, are indissolubly bound together; they are parts of one whole as the roots and the fruit are both alike parts of one tree, organically connected. Consequently, the Christian way of life is impossible apart from the Christian doctrine of life. Belief must determine practice. The repudiation of Christian dogma must, then, mean the destruction of Christian ethics. He who denies the cross of Christ cannot live the life of Christ.

Thus it comes to pass that the repudiation of Christian dogma is the supreme cause of "the Revolution in Ethics." Were Christian dogma maintained in its integrity, rationalism, naturalism and idealism could not affect Christian life.

Repudiate this dogma, however, and you both cut the root of Christian life, and, as we have seen, introduce an atmosphere necessarily fatal to it. Such, then, is the "Revolution in ethics" considered in the light of its sources. Whatever the world may think, the Christian may not favor any movement with such an origin.

II. Let us look at the revolutionary ethics from the standpoint of its results. What the old system which finds both its ground and its standard in God manifest in Christ—what this system has been and done, we all know. Nor did we have to ask Christianity to tell us. Mr. Lecky, the great historian of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne, himself an avowed rationalist, has told us in words which for clearness and force leave nothing to be desired. "It was reserved," says he, "for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character which through all the changes of eighteen centuries has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love and has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, realms, temperaments and conditions; has not only been the highest pattern of virtue, but the highest incentive to its practice; and has exerted so deep an influence that it may truly be said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and to soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers, and all the exhortations of moralists. This has, indeed, been the well-spring of all that is best and purest in the Christian life. Amid all the sins and failings, amid all the priestcraft and persecution and fanaticism, that have disgraced the church, it has preserved in the character of its Founder an enduring principle of regeneration."<sup>9</sup> Ought we not, then, to go back to Christ? Where but in him do we find an "enduring principle of regeneration"?

Certainly not in nature. What we find in her is an enduring principle of destruction. We have but to look at the condition of Europe, and, indeed, of the world, to see the most terrific illustration of this. Of course, no one cause

<sup>9</sup> *Hist. of European Morals*, vol. II, p. 9.



will explain the war. A movement so wide and so complex must have many roots. Influences, dynastic, economic, scientific, ecclesiastical, philosophical and religious, as well as moral, to cite Prof. W. Hallock Johnson, D.D., must all have contributed to bring about the war, and to make it the unprecedentedly awful struggle that it is. It would be the height of presumption, too, for any one, at least at this stage, to assume to discriminate between these causes and say, This one has done this, and, This one has done that.

But while this is true, it is also clear that there is a close, a vital, connection between the war and the ethics of nature. Of whatever else the war may be a result, it certainly is the appropriate and even the necessary fruit of the "revolutionary morality." That morality could not have been sincerely embraced by Germany, as it was, and she not have acted as she has. Do you question this? Then ask yourselves what would issue, were "the will to power," that is, the will to self-gratification, the will to do what one wants and all that one wants and only what one wants—were this will to be substituted for "the will to freedom," that is, the will to self-realization, the will to be and to do what one ought to be and to do, whether one so wishes or not. Ask yourselves further what would it mean were might put in the place of right; and instead of men who were trying to be good because it was godlike to be so, we were to have, or to strive to have, only men who, because in their own estimation they were supermen and so beyond good and evil, boasted in such titles as immoralist and atheist. Yet this is precisely what the revolutionary ethics would introduce, nay, has introduced. How could it, then, be other than an agent of destruction? Is it not the most natural thing in the world that every atrocity committed in Belgium or Poland or Serbia or Armenia should find its justification in Nietzsche's writings?

Such, then, is the situation and such the contrast. To go back to Christ is to go forward to regeneration. To go back to nature is to go down to destruction. Pragmatists,—

and all men are pragmatists up to a certain point—which will work, which has worked—Christ or nature?

But pragmatism, as most of us will admit, is not the final philosophy, nor the pragmatic test the absolute one. What is not true often seems to work, and what is true often seems not to work. Our Lord said, "By their fruits ye shall know them"; but the question at once arises, What is and what is not, good fruit? And so we are forced to study the revolutionary ethics from a third standpoint, even that of

III. Reason or consistency. Is it true to itself, and thus rational and in so far right? or, Does it contradict and so destroy itself? Such is the inquiry. This question may be approached from two widely differing positions.

(1) Individualism. This is Nietzsche's position. At the outset it should be observed that he makes no claim to consistency. On the contrary, he starts by denying reason and by annihilating truth. He holds that reason is always the servant of will, each man's want being his ought; and that even truth is only what each man wills to believe. Nay, he goes further and teaches that truth is just "that body of convenient lies that helps us to live more powerfully."<sup>10</sup> That is, he repudiates all rational basis for his standpoint.

It should not surprise us, then, to find his conduct as irrational as his presupposition. Such is the case. He proceeds in the development of his way of life on a principle that he himself does not trust but despises. He goes back to a nature that he doubts and abhors. As Thornton says, "his poor opinion of human nature is writ large upon almost every page of his writings."<sup>11</sup> We see this specially in his "Genealogy of Morals." Man, we are told, first appears as a good Nietzschean. He does just what he wants; his wants are hard and unrestrained. He is powerful in cruelty, but he soon deteriorates. His reverence for his ancestors degenerates into a belief in a spiritual world and in God. Worse yet, he invents that useless piece of lumber now

<sup>10</sup> *Werke*, XIII, 102, 239.

<sup>11</sup> *Conduct and the Supernatural*, p. 29.

called conscience. Worst of all, he crowns this story of ever-darkening superstition by letting himself fall a prey to the "Christian disease," the quintessence of folly and stupidity. And yet he continues to trust himself and himself only. It is such a nature as this that he would put in the place of him who is "infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth." Verily, his repudiation of reason is more thorough than even he announced that it would be. He has not only set himself on the throne of God, but he has done so with the conviction and the admission that he himself is an imbecile.

But this is not all. Having made nature the ground and the standard of his way of life, having, that is, assumed to find his reason and rule for conduct in his own wants, Nietzsche proceeds to deny, reject and crush at least half of these wants. Nothing, if not an individualist, he ignores, when he does not repudiate, his social instincts. He would have each man live for himself; he would have the strong develop themselves at the expense of the weak. He would have even the mighty sacrificed to the production of the mightiest. Supermen, the superman is the trend of all things; and to make him, all things, even supermen, must give way. In a word, the revolutionary ethics is just absolute egoism.

But absolute egoism is not natural. Man is an individual, but he is a social individual. He loves himself, but he loves others, too. His very self-love causes him to love others; for it is in and through them that he realizes himself. Their development often comes to be more to him than his own. Indeed, not rarely will he give even his life for their lives. And such unselfishness is not, as many would have us think, the fruit of the Christian religion alone. It is natural. Adopted and sanctified and glorified by Christianity, it may be discovered among savages who never heard of Christ, and even among savants who regard him as but a myth. Now to all this great sweet side of human nature the new ethics, at least in its individualistic form, gives the lie.



It does more and worse. Inconsistent, as we have been seeing, it becomes absolutely self-contradictory and so self-destructive. It denies and destroys its own individualism. This should be clear. It follows from Nietzsche's conception of the world. "This world," says he, "is the will to power—and nothing else! And even ye yourselves are this will to power—and nothing besides!"<sup>12</sup> That is, the will to power is everything; the goal and development of spirit no less than of matter. "The world is not an organism, it is a chaos." It looks back to no beginning, it looks forward to no end. It has no history. After passing through every possible combination, it must ultimately repeat itself, and this it must do forever and forever. Such, and such only, is the universe. Individuality, therefore, can be no more than one appearance of the universe. Individuals cannot in any real sense exist—any more than they do in the system of Schopenhauer. Nietzsche lays stress on personality. His object is to secure strong individuals. Yet, as Figgis says in this connection, "I do not see how in his system they have any reality; they are the mere soap bubbles blown for the nonce by the will to power; the superman is only the largest and most highly colored soap-bubble."<sup>13</sup> Thus the ethics of nature develops itself from the standpoint of individualism, to commit suicide at last. And this it must do. Make force everything and even and specially egoism becomes impossible. A finite ego is conceivable only in contrast with, if not in opposition to, the world force.

(2) Nor is it otherwise, if we study the revolutionary ethics from the standpoint of socialism. This position may well be represented by Mr Bernard Shaw. Unlike Nietzsche and the individualists, he would make his objective, not the development of a few supermen and finally of the superman, but the happiness of all the individuals who compose society. "The race is to be consummated in a social order, not in an individual who has absorbed all goodness in himself."

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<sup>12</sup> *Will to Power*, vol. II, 431, 2.

<sup>13</sup> *The Will to Freedom*, p. 79.

Yet though thus opposite in end, the two schemes are alike in method. There is the same repudiation of reason at the outset. Mr. Shaw's deliberate advice, because his fundamental principle, is, "Be what you want to be." That is, he would do away with reasoned ideals; he would have us make it the rule of our lives simply to follow the instincts of human nature. Thus it is that he would introduce the social order in which the greatest happiness of the greatest number shall be attained. Nor, again like Nietzsche, is his procedure any more rational than his principle. He has no confidence in the human nature that he avowedly takes as his norm. On the contrary, he distrusts it utterly. He has no hope that it will secure or even initiate the social progress at which he aims. "Man," says he, "will return to his idols and to his cupidities, in spite of all movement and all revolution, until his nature is changed. . . . Whilst man remains what he is, there can be no progress beyond the point already attained and fallen headlong from at every attempt at civilization; and since even that point is but a pinnacle to which a few people cling in giddy terror above an abyss of squalor, mere progress should no longer charm us."<sup>14</sup> In short, our Lord himself does not affirm more positively the necessity of the new birth than does this champion of the adequacy of human nature. What could be more irrational? He persists in pinning his faith to a principle which he declares to be, and which with rare skill he shows to be powerless. Still further, like Nietzsche, he misinterprets the human nature on which he would build his Utopia. He denies it on its individualistic side as Nietzsche does on its social side. In his plays which deal directly with the question of individual responsibility in its relation to society the importance of the individual is reduced to its smallest possible dimensions. In "Mrs. Warren's Profession," for example, the purpose of which is to show up the horrors of the "White Slave Traffic," he labors to prove that the woman responsible for the evil was forced

<sup>14</sup> *Man and Superman*, pp. 206, 207.

into her position by circumstances, and that from first to last she was quite as much victimized as her victims; and that, not by any other person, but by the state of society and the conditions of her early life.

This, however, is not the fact. Environment is not omnipotent: though all are affected by it, many rise superior to it. Abraham Lincoln was not the product of circumstances so much as the moulder of them. Society, in shaping character and determining destiny, is powerful. It does often look—and never so much so as in this awful war,—as if social forces were all-powerful, as if individuals counted for nothing. And yet to-day as never before the individual has come to his own. When was personal bravery so quickly recognized and rewarded as now on the battlefields of France and Italy? Did greater responsibility ever rest on any one than on the President of our Nation? And when we consider our highest because religious life, is not all this emphasized even more impressively? Of course, religion has its social side; for man is a social being, and there is a “divine order of human society”: but is it not as individuals, one by one, that we are elected and regenerated and justified and adopted and sanctified and glorified? In denying all this, therefore, Mr. Shaw outrages the human nature that he would magnify. He not only, as we have seen, distrusts it; he ignores that which is most fundamental in it.

Finally, again like Nietzsche, Mr. Shaw, this champion of social progress, of progress by society and through society, in his depreciation of the individual, renders social progress impossible. For the progress of society depends on its individual members. It can grow only as they grow. They are the cells which make up the body politic and according to whose health and vigor are the health and vigor of the body politic.

Specially does this appear in Mr. Shaw's conception of the way in which the new social start needed, the social regeneration demanded, is to be effected. A new race, he

holds, must be brought into existence; and "since," as Thornton says, "for all his education and art, religion and morality, politics and social propaganda, man is not one jot further advanced, there remains only one line of possible progress not yet systematically tried, namely, that of breeding."<sup>15</sup> The race of supermen which is to be must be bred by careful selection. In a word, the hope of the world lies not in moral effort, but in scientific mating; not in ethics, but in eugenics; not in the Holy Spirit, but in natural human instinct.

There could not be a greater mistake. The society of supermen to be developed is the presupposition of the development. In order to scientific mating, there must be a high degree of moral restraint; in order to eugenics, there must be ethics; in order to the truly natural development of human nature, there must be the Holy Spirit. Hence, we do not get anywhere. We can do nothing but contradict ourselves. Mr. Shaw virtually concedes as much. If the following of instinct should destroy 90 per cent of the human race, it were better, so he thinks, to bear with the loss, in the hope that the remaining 10 per cent should prove to be supermen. But this is not socialism. It is its rejection. It is the sacrifice of society for the sake of a few of its individual members. It is the flat denial of Mr. Shaw's whole contention. Thus the ethics of nature breaks down from the socialistic as from the individualistic standpoint. Could we have more convincing evidence of the failure of the natural man as the ground and norm of conduct? Yet we do. It appears when we consider

IV. The essential inadequacy of human nature as the foundation and rule of life. The failure of Nietzsche and of Mr. Shaw is due, not only to their contempt of logic and their misinterpretation of nature, but to the necessity of the case. An ethic of nature must fail, and this for at least two reasons:

(1) Nature cannot supply a true ideal. What we want

<sup>15</sup> *Conduct and the Supernatural*, p. 83.

may not be what we ought to want, it may not be even what we need. It often is not. It naturally is not. Made in God's "image and after his likeness," we ought to seek and we need to seek "his favor which is life and his loving kindness which is better than life." That is the only end which is worthy of us and it is the only one which is fitted to us. But it is not the ideal which we now find or which we can now find in ourselves. It is not that which our wants or instincts, our nature, suggests or can suggest. Left to ourselves, we desire the "pleasures of sin"; and that, too, though we know that we can enjoy these only for a season, and that they work spiritual as well as physical death. The fact is that sin has so perverted and distorted our whole being that we do not and cannot see things as they are. We call evil good and good evil. In this respect we are not only animal; we are below the animals. They can ordinarily trust their appetites safely: who of us can? Doubtless, "the instinct of the creature is the intelligence of the Creator"; but who now can distinguish between what is original and truly instinctive and what we have come to regard so through habitual indulgence in sin?

Nor is it otherwise if we take the word ideal in its strictest and highest sense, as meaning a special type of character that ought to be realized. Christ is the object of the adoration of the heavenly host. Yet who of us by nature sees in him "the chief among ten thousand and the one altogether lovely"? On the contrary, do we not by nature regard him as having "no form nor comeliness," "no beauty that we should desire him"?

Were, however, this blinding and perverting effect of sin a negligible quantity, that would not affect our contention. A merely natural ethic would still be inadequate because of our finiteness. In a word, the finite cannot be bound by itself. That is, it cannot find the ground or reason of obligation in itself. As Kant has taught us, the authority of conscience must be absolute. Absoluteness is of its essence. Absoluteness is what distinguishes it from all



else and makes it superior to all else. It is not a craving for pleasure; it is not the dictate of personal expediency; it is not the demand of the self for self-realization; it may include any or all of these; it should issue in them all: but it has its peculiar quality of absoluteness, that is, of binding us whether it does or does not issue as just stated, because it insists on a law which has its origin and binding force in a source above all these, even in the nature of him who is "infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth." Ourselves, though finite, "the offspring" of such a supernatural being, we can be bound only by such a supernatural law. To be truly natural, we must obey the Supernatural. Nature cannot supply our ideal.

(2) If the ideal be given, nature cannot enable us to realize it. Nature is as deficient in power as in light. Human nature is "dead through trespasses and sins," and in the death of human nature all nature has become more or less corrupt. Nor is this the teaching of Scripture only. It is, as we must have seen, the undertone of the ethics of nature. Both Nietzsche and Mr. Shaw distrust the nature to which they would appeal. Often beautiful to look upon, there is always about it the odor of corruption. Hence, we cannot be what we ought to be. Neither in human nature, nor in surrounding nature can we connect with the power needed.

Nor is this grim fact recognized by orthodox theology merely. It is the testimony of general literature also. "I know the better course, I follow the worse," sadly wrote the Roman poet Horace, and in so saying he voiced a common sentiment. The theory of evolution itself explains and necessitates this judgment. Indeed, it is precisely when we take counsel of naturalism that we are most impressed by the demand for supernaturalism. A corpse cannot evolve life; a corpse can evolve only further corruption; if human nature be dead morally, this is its only possibility: and, therefore, if there is to be any hope for it, it must be in a

new start through the entering into it of what was not in it before; the Supernatural must come down into the natural; that is, the Supernatural must not only himself give the Word of the law, but the Word must himself "become flesh and dwell among us." For, as Thornton says, "Christianity is the manifestation in the world of a life which draws all its power from a supernatural religious experience which in its turn is based upon a supernatural creed."<sup>16</sup>

V. This conclusion suggests three observations, with the bare statement of which this address shall close:

(1) We must insist on the historical character of our religion. As Christian conduct draws all its power from a supernatural religious experience which in its turn is based upon a supernatural creed, so this creed must be a summary of supernatural facts. It is not, as so many hold, a matter of indifference whether these are facts. On the contrary, this is what is of supreme importance. "If Christ hath not been raised, then is our preaching vain, your faith also is vain." This would seem to be self-evident. It is only as we have been raised with Christ by "the power of his resurrection" that we can share his life; and it is only as we share his life that we can know it and realize it. But how can we share his life and know and realize it, if he himself is lying dead in a Syrian grave? That cannot be shared which does not exist.

(2) Equally with the Christian facts must we emphasize the Christian doctrines. These give meaning and so worth to the facts. Why should the crucifixion of Jesus be of unique importance and preciousness? There have been crucifixions in France, and that, too, during the present war; not to speak of the frequency with which this punishment was inflicted in ancient times. Do we not, however, regard the crucifixion on Calvary as the centre of history because God has himself taught us that in it He offered up His only-begotten and well beloved Son as the eternal and infinite

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<sup>16</sup> *Conduct and the Supernatural*, p. 317.

sacrifice for the sin of the world? Thus it is the supernatural doctrine of the atonement that gives, and that alone it that could give, its supernatural worth to the supernatural fact of the cross. Only the Supernatural can interpret the supernatural. Were it not for Christian doctrine, the Christian facts would be but prodigies; and prodigies, though real, could never become either a ground or a norm or a power for conduct in the case of rational beings.

(3) We must live the "life hid with Christ in God." It is only as we come thus into vital union with him that we can feel the supernatural reality of the Christian facts and appreciate the supernatural meaning and importance of the Christian doctrines; and, as we have just seen, it is only as we do both of these that Christian conduct can have either its ground or its norm or its realization.

Such, then, are the chief lessons of the present crisis in ethics. Its cry, "Back to nature," is the death warrant of even the bare and cold ethics that it would command: for it is only the Supernatural, it is only God, who can give either the ground and the substance of duty or the power to do it; and according to naturalism, as Nietzsche himself boasts in Zarathustra, "God is dead."

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.



## CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND PRESBYTERIAN TRADITION.

In these days of universal trial, current discussion of education is characterized by great dissatisfaction with contemporary theory and practice, and no little uncertainty as to where and how improvement should begin. The causes of the dissatisfaction are so many and complex that we shall attempt to mention only a few. There is the indubitable evidence that our educational system, with all its excellences, has not in many respects been as efficient as it was supposed to be. Under the operation of the draft law, millions of men have been tested physically and mentally, with the result that many defects have been manifested that might have been cured in school days had the school been more alert.<sup>1</sup> There is also the suspicion that in many ways the schools of the country, instead of addressing themselves directly to the solution of the problems of our Democracy, were imitating foreign, chiefly German, models, with the result that the recoil from things Prussian has included the Teutonized school.<sup>2</sup> There is, again, the sharpened demand for quick wit and nimble fingers, due to the accelerating of industrial production to compensate the enormous wastage of war. Why might not the school have produced both in greater quantities if it had only been better organized? But with all this fairly well-defined dissatisfaction there is uncertainty as to the method of improvement, due in part to the intricacy of the problem. It is no easy task to define the work of the school in our Democracy, or to enumerate the results that may reasonably be expected from it. Added

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<sup>1</sup> Charles W. Eliot: *Certain Defects in American Education, and the Remedies for Them*. (Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C., Teachers' Leaflet, No. 5.)

<sup>2</sup> See Charles H. Judd's article, "Prussia and our Schools," in *The New Republic*, April 20, 1918, with Paul Monroe's criticism of the facts presented in the article, "Further Consideration of Prussia in our Schools," in *School and Society*, June 29, 1918.

to this is the fact that educational reformers are not of one mind as to the aim and matter of education. Each tends to use present conditions as aids to the particular reform he advocates. Thus the champion of the classics finds in the commercial and industrial activity of the time the reason for cultural education; but the believer in vocational training uses the same activity as evidence of the need of practical training. The teacher who holds to general discipline is opposed by the unbeliever, to whom this doctrine is a discredited myth. Finally, the educator with the social viewpoint feels that he is far in advance of all the rest. Dissatisfaction and uncertainty seem, therefore, to be the marks of present-day educational thought.

What, then, if any, is the contribution that Presbyterianism can make towards the reconstruction of the school? The one who is in sympathy with this system will be convinced, first of all, that education should be Christian; in the second place, he ought to be able to show that in the development of the way of thinking called Presbyterianism there have been formulated certain educational principles that wherever tried have proved their worth as means to this end; and, in the third place, that these principles may reasonably be expected to vindicate themselves in the present emergency as corrective or supplementary of contemporary theory and practice. Let us attempt to make good each of these assertions.

A sincere believer in Christianity will require no argument to convince him that all human relationships and activities should be Christianized. He will, therefore, believe in Christian education, although he may find it a puzzling task to describe specifically the requirements that education must fulfil in order to be Christian. Let us try to escape this perplexity by considering a sentence from Luke's Gospel<sup>3</sup> that may be taken as one of the first descriptions ever written of a Christian education. This is the sentence: "And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favor

<sup>3</sup> Luke 2:52.

with God and man." Here is mentioned a fourfold advance that may well be taken as the aim of education. The advance in wisdom refers to the development of mental power, but it implies more than acquisition of knowledge, since wisdom connotes ability to apply knowledge practically.<sup>4</sup> Advance in stature refers to all the facts of physical growth; advance in the favor or grace of God covers moral and spiritual growth; while advance in the favor of man implies that the education met the requirements of the society in which and for which it was given. Now it may be said that all education, no matter where conducted or when, among savages or civilized, in modern or ancient times, aims usually at three at least of these advances: in wisdom, in stature, in human favor. It may be taken as the distinctive character of Christian education, however, that it also aims at advance in the grace of God. We may use the term as it lies in the Scripture with its potentialities as yet unfolded, or we may employ it as Christian thinking has developed these rich possibilities of connotation in the course of the centuries; we do not essentially alter the fact that if education is to deserve the adjective Christian it must aim at advance in the grace of God.

If we accept this as a provisional statement of the specific difference of Christian education, then it is apparent that the educational problem of the Church in each age is to devise the means that will secure this essential thing. There is no permanent method, because as life unfolds itself in the Providence of God conditions change, new needs arise,

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<sup>4</sup> Cowper's words in *The Task*, VI, 88 seq. are appropriate:

"Knowledge and wisdom, far from being one,  
Have oftentimes no connexion. Knowledge dwells  
In heads replete with thoughts of other men,  
Wisdom in minds attentive to their own.  
Knowledge, a rude, unprofitable mass,  
The mere materials with which wisdom builds,  
Till smooth'd, and squar'd, and fitted to its place,  
Does but encumber whom it seems t'enrich.  
Knowledge is proud that he has learned so much;  
Wisdom is humble that he knows no more."

fresh problems must be solved, and each generation of Christians must therefore adapt the unchanging and unfailing Word of God to the world in which it lives. But these adaptations are progressive, and it helps greatly in the performance of our task if we study the way in which our predecessors carried out theirs. In particular, we can assuredly be aided in the problem of Christian instruction to-day by noting the principles of education that were developed by the forerunners of our Presbyterian way of thinking.

These forerunners were the Reformers who happened to be contemporaries of what is usually called the humanistic period of the Renaissance.<sup>5</sup> During this period the aim of education, as conceived by the humanists, was to develop a perfect man, fitted for participation in the social activity of the time. Such a person would avoid the extremes of asceticism and libertinism.<sup>6</sup> In accord with this aim, the materials of education were, on the physical side, strength and skill-forming exercises; and on the intellectual, the classical literatures of Greece and Rome, reborn as it were, for enthusing men whose joy in the present world had been quickened by the discovery of distant lands beyond the seas. This education secured three of the aims mentioned in the foregoing—wisdom, stature, social favor; but it omitted the fourth, the grace of God. To the supply of this omission, the Reformers addressed themselves, from the evident conviction that if they left untouched by the Reform so important a branch of human activity as education the results would be very serious. Let us examine their attempts.

<sup>5</sup> If we make, as is usually done, 1600 the dividing year of the Renaissance, then 1453-1600 was the humanistic period; 1600-1690, the natural science period.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Vergerius, 1349-1420, professor in the University of Padua, put this notion of education as follows: "We call those studies liberal which are worthy of a freeman; those studies by which we attain and practice virtue and wisdom; that education which calls forth trains, and develops those highest gifts of body and mind which ennoble men and which are rightly judged to rank next in dignity to virtue only."

We shall examine first the educational theory of Martin Luther (1483-1546), because, while he recognized the necessity of Christianizing education, his theory of what was necessary is in somewhat strong contrast to that proposed by Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531) and by John Calvin (1509-1564), from whom our Presbyterian tradition is more directly derived.

Martin Luther is the author of two educational treatises. One was the letter "*An die Rats Herrn aller Städte deutsches Lands dass sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen.*"<sup>7</sup> This was published in January or February, 1564, when Germany was on the eve of the Peasants' Revolt and in the midst of the social confusion that led to that outbreak. It begins with an interesting account of the condition of common education in the Germany of his day. The schools are declining, because parents are eager not for the spiritual welfare of their children but for material wealth. It would almost seem as though the devil, the prince of this world, were trying to destroy the children by hindering their education. But God is blessing Germany, in that through the Reformation the people are saving the money formerly spent on such useless things as monasteries, masses, pilgrimages, etc. The money thus saved should be spent on education. In addition, there is now the blessing of the word of God accessible to all in the vernacular. Luther then points out that since so many parents neglect the education of the children the town authorities must take charge, in order that the young, the greatest treasure of the State, may not grow up wild like the trees in the forest. Finally he mentions the materials, aims, and methods of education. The materials are, naturally enough for Luther's time, the languages Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the three that have been the chief vehicles of God's grace. The aim is to furnish trained men and women, not only for the State but also for the

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<sup>7</sup> Our quotations are from Otto Clemen's *Luthers Werke in Auswahl*. Bonn, 1912, Vol II, pp. 442-464.



Church.<sup>8</sup> This aim demands that education be practically related to the life of the majority under its care. The method of instruction must keep in mind the play instinct of children by introducing in particular into the curriculum music, both vocal and instrumental. The letter closes with a vigorous appeal to the authorities to lay hold of their task, to provide in all the cities libraries in which the Word of God might be found, and to support in every way possible the cause of universal education.

Six years later, July or August, 1530, Luther published a second educational exhortation, "*Eine Predigt, dass man Kinder zur Schulen halten sollen.*" This was composed immediately after the Saxon church visitation, but it represents a topic on which he had frequently preached at Wittenberg and embodies a plan he had formed long previously. The introduction explains that the occasion of the sermon is that parents generally are neglecting God's word and the schools because of the desire for material wealth. The body of the sermon points out first the spiritual, and second the temporal, benefits of education. Among the spiritual benefits is the fact that the school trains the clerical order so necessary for the Church. God gives us children not so much for our own personal gratification as to be trained for the ministry of the gospel. But education also blesses the temporal sphere, a sphere which, though second to the spiritual, is yet glorious because also founded by God. Here must govern, not force, but the wisdom that is from above. The Government, therefore, must rely on educated persons,

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<sup>8</sup> His words are worth quoting, p. 456: "*Wenn nu gleich, (wie ich gesagt habe) keyn seele were, und man der schule und sprache gar nichts dürfte umb der schrift und Gottes willent. So were doch alleyn dise ursach gnugsam die aller besten schule beyde fur knaben und meydlin an allen orten auff zu richten dass die welt auch yhren weltlichen stand eusserlich zu halten doch bedarff feiner geschickter menner und frauen. Das die menner wohl regirn künden land und leuth. Die frawen wol zihen und hallten künden haus kinder und gesinde. Nu soliche menner müssen aus knaben werden und soliche frawen müssen aus meydlin werden. Darumb ist zu thun das man kneblin und meydlin dazu recht lere und auffzihe.*"

who, if good, are prophets, priests, angels, saviours; but if bad are devils, thieves, murderers, blasphemers. So the man who has a son apt for learning and who yet refuses to keep him in school is doing as much against the Lord as any Turk or devil. From the spiritual and temporal benefits of education it follows that the authorities ought to compel all citizens to send their children to school.

It is not our purpose to enumerate the ways in which Martin Luther was a great educational prophet,<sup>9</sup> but to concentrate attention on the religious element in his plan of education. That it was present the two treatises clearly show. The Humanists disliked his emphasis on the practical as destructive of culture,<sup>10</sup> but it is doubtful if they understood or appreciated the religious element. Nevertheless, this was a genuine attempt to supply to education the missing factor that we have called the grace of God. How he understood it may perhaps be made clear by a quotation: "We are at the dawn of a new era, for we are beginning to recover the knowledge of the external world. . . . We now observe creatures properly, and not as formerly under the Papacy. Erasmus is indifferent, and does not care to know how fruit is developed from the germ. But by the grace of God we already recognize in the most delicate flower the wonders of divine goodness and omnipotence." This would seem to show that Luther recognized that the religious principle in education could not be satisfied merely by co-ordinating with other subjects courses in Bible and Catechism; it meant that the entire curriculum was to be the expression of another viewpoint than that of the Humanists. Nevertheless, he did not clearly develop this, and the outcome was that under Melancthon, to whom fell the task of making effective the educational plans of the great Reformer, and subsequently in the school system that resulted, the Christian principle in education

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<sup>9</sup> See "The Position of Luther upon Education," by Harry G. Good, in *School and Society*, November 3, 1917.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Erasmus' assertion, "Where Lutherism rules, there letters die."

was supposedly satisfied by courses in Bible and Catechism co-ordinated with courses that were little, if at all, affected by the Christian idea.

It was otherwise with the two Reformers whose work we shall now review. Huldreich Zwingli<sup>11</sup> explained his concept of education in a short treatise published in Latin in the year 1523, with the title, "*Quo pacto ingenui adolescentes formandi sint*,"<sup>12</sup> and in German in 1526. This little book was composed in the same year in which he drew up the Sixty-Seven Articles of Belief in preparation for the first of the three public disputations in which the municipal government of Zurich ordered him to defend his assertion that the Romish mode of worship must be completely transformed in order to bring it into line with the teaching of Scripture. In this argument Zwingli's views prevailed, and, having reformed worship, he then proceeded to reform education. His notion of what should be done may in part be derived from the treatise before us, which, although it by no means contains a complete system of education, does make clear his fundamental ideas on the subject.

The contents of the treatise fall into three parts: how the youthful mind is to be instructed in the things that concern (1) God, (2) itself, and (3) others. Let us briefly examine the thought of each part.

Part I explains the method by which the young are to be brought to faith in God's all-embracing power and fatherly love as revealed in the Gospel. Zwingli is quite aware that, as John 6:44 teaches, it is beyond human power to create faith in anyone, but he urges the use of the Word and Prayer as means that the Spirit may use to rouse faith in the unbeliever. He then proceeds to enumerate the objects of this faith: the world of sense as a sphere of

<sup>11</sup> See R. Staehelin, *Der Einfluss Zwinglis auf Schule und Unterricht*, pp. 61-71 of the *Einladungsschrift zur Feier des dreihundertjährigen Bestandes des Gymnasiums Basel*. Basel, 1889. Also O. Rückert, *Ulrich Zwinglis Ideen zur Erziehung und Bildung*. Gotha, 1900.

<sup>12</sup> See *Corpus Reformatorum*, Leipzig, 1908, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 526-551.



change from which we rise to the unchanging God; the world of history, in which we see divine Providence preserving and disposing all; the sinful world, that is so much in need of Christ's saving work; and the world of redemption that lies so fair and broad before the young, calling them, as it were, to exercise their powers and take possession.<sup>13</sup>

Part II treats of ethical and intellectual self-culture, and in connection with this of the essential topics of instruction. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin must be studied, because the first two are directly, the last indirectly, important for the understanding of the Scriptures. There is then treated a series of topics of great educational interest: silence and speech, diet, sex instincts, desire for money and fame, physical exercise, and work.

The third and concluding part proves that for Zwingli the education of the individual has worth only in so far as it is education for society. In this social reference the example of Christ must be followed,<sup>14</sup> and therefore a chief task of education must be the inculcation of the virtues of the co-operative life. These are specified in what follows concerning the right attitude in private and public misfortunes, right conduct in society and in the family, in matters of dispute, and in association with men generally. The use of certain games is allowed, but dice and cards are prohibited. He admonishes to truth in word and deed, that bodily bearing, eye, face, walk, may correspond to the inner life.<sup>15</sup> In short, the student must put all diligence upon receiving Christ alone.

<sup>13</sup> His words are: "*Deus enim cum sit spiritus, non alia quam spiritali deditae mentis hostia coli recte potest* (cf. Joh. 4:24). *Huc igitur aciem dirigit adolescens, ut mature bonum virum meditetur, qui sit innocentissimus, ac deo quam simillimus.*"

<sup>14</sup> His words are: "*Principio ita secum reputabit ingenua mens: Christus sese pro nobis exposuit* (Tit. 2:14), *nosterque factus est, ita et te oportet omnibus expositum esse non te tuum putare, sed aliorum: non enim, ut nobis vivamus nati sumus, sed ut omnibus omnia fiamus* (1 Cor. 9:22).

<sup>15</sup> The words are: "*Quid multa? Huc omne studium accelerandum*

It is evident that here we have a much farther reaching principle of Christian education than that which Luther attempted to develop. Opinions have differed, however, as to the purpose of the treatise. Bauer<sup>16</sup> thinks that it was intended to prove that the Reformation was not hostile to culture; that it was possible to combine humanistic pedagogy and evangelical Christianity. More probable is Rückert's opinion,<sup>17</sup> that Zwingli wrote the treatise not only for the benefit of his stepson but for all the youth of the time to interest them in the religious, ethical and patriotic notions of the Reformation. It would seem, nevertheless, that both these writers fail to notice the educational implications of the writing. If its ideas were to be made real a school would have to be organized in which the curriculum would avoid the narrow theologizing of the Middle Ages as well as the "anthropologizing" of the Humanists. In this school the Scriptural idea of God would come to its right, and the spirit of science would be unfettered; while the presentation of the new man in Christ Jesus would set free the impulses of human progress. In other words, Zwingli was aiming at a thorough-going reformation of the school, not merely at the introduction of a new subject, even if that subject were the Scripture itself.

The Reformer of German Switzerland did not, however, live to realize his ideas on education in the organization of an actual school, and so we turn to John Calvin (1509-1564), to whom we owe the most thorough and fruitful reconstruction of education for the purpose of allowing the Christian principle to gain the supreme place. Calvin embodied his ideas not in a book, but in an institution, in the

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*est, ut Christum adolescens quam purissime hauriat, quo hausto, ipse sibi regula erit. Recte faciendo numquam concidit, numquam extolletur. Augescet quotidie, sed sibi decrescere semper videbitur. Promovebit, ac postremum se esse duce omnium. Bonum erga omnes operabitur, sed non imputabit quicquam; sic enim Christus fecit. Absolutus igitur erit, qui Christum unice statuent aemulari."*

<sup>16</sup> Zwinglis Theologie. Bd. I. S. 362 seq.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

Académie that became the University of Geneva. A study of this institution should reveal to us the place of Christianity in education according to the view of the great organizer of Reformed Protestantism.<sup>18</sup>

The organization of this school was not effected without previous thoughts and plans. Calvin had had practical teaching experience while pastor of the French congregation in Strassburg from 1539 to 1541. Then, in the *Projet d'Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques* of the latter year, he distinguished four orders of offices instituted by the Lord for the government of his Church—pastors, teachers, elders, deacons. The teachers, the second order, have as their duty the instruction of believers in sound doctrine, in order that the purity of the Gospel be not corrupted either by ignorance or by evil opinions. This means that they will, in connection with the Old and New Testaments, teach theology; but, since the Church cannot profit in such lessons without previous instruction in language and humane letters, there is need of a school for children and young people where such preparatory instruction may be given. In such a school both teacher and curriculum are to be subject to the Church. These ideas were elaborated in greater detail in the *Leges Academiae Genevensis*, prepared as a constitution for the school that was established in 1559. On the fifth of June of that year, in the Church of Saint Pierre, Calvin announced to the large audience that had assembled the establishment of an academy; then, after offering prayer for its success, he read in French the laws and statutes of the new Collège de Genève. Theodore Beza was introduced as the new rector, and delivered in Latin an inaugural address on the origin, utility, and dignity of studies, the concluding words of which are worth quoting in connection with our topic: "You have not come to this place as the Greeks went formerly to their gymnasia, to attend the transitory games; but you are here to be in-

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<sup>18</sup> See "*Histoire de l'Université de Genève*," par Charles Borgeaud. *L'Académie de Calvin, 1559-1768*. Genève, 1900.

structed in the true religion and in the knowledge of God, in order that you may be enabled to work for the glory of God, to become helpful to your neighbors, and to honor your native land. Always remember that you are soldiers and that you must render to your supreme head an account of your sacred mission." Calvin followed in a brief address, in which he pointed out that the founding of the school was God's work, and that all should therefore give thanks to Him. He then led in prayer and dismissed the congregation.

In this school Calvin united two aims. One was pedagogical, the providing not merely of thorough courses in advanced subjects, but also of thorough courses in preparatory work.<sup>19</sup> The other was religious, and is so remarkable that it deserves fuller treatment.

In Calvin's faith there were three beliefs that inevitably influenced his concept of education. First was his faith that God had entered through Jesus Christ into the closest relationships with his people.<sup>20</sup> Second was the conviction that all the manifold variety of characteristics whereby man is distinguished from his fellow are for the glory of God in the service of one another.<sup>21</sup> Third was the assurance that the world, as the creation of God (a world of which there is no particle in which some sparks at least of his glory may not be seen to flash)<sup>22</sup> may, through the divine grace, be the instrument of a holy and happy life, in spite of the sin that ever tends to use it for man's degradation.<sup>23</sup> The effect of these views on the curriculum of study would be that each topic would be handled in such a way as to exalt the grace of God.

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<sup>19</sup> Erasmus had also urged this reform, because the universities of the time were decaying because of neglect of foundation work. In their greed for fees they admitted children and others entirely unable to profit by the instruction.

<sup>20</sup> See *Institutio Rel. Christ.* 1559. II. vi. 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, III. vii. 4 and 5.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, I. v. -1.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, III. x.

The difficulty, however, was to make the ideal a reality. In the *Leges Academiae* already referred to, Calvin organizes the course of study with some minuteness and then provides that, in their treatment of one another and of their pupils, the teachers should act according to the precepts of Christ. But he evidently felt that in Christian education the topic taught was less important than the Christian teacher and scholar, and therefore he took the usual means of the time to secure such by drawing up a confession to which subscription should be required.<sup>24</sup> This *formula Confessionis Fidei* is a beautifully expressed compend of Calvinistic theology, but it did not secure the results that Calvin intended,<sup>25</sup> since these could not be secured by mere subscription to a formula.

The Calvinistic ideal in education may then be summarized as follows: (1.) Christian education demands that the school include in its courses the element we have called the grace of God; (2.) This demand is fully satisfied when

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<sup>24</sup> See the confession printed in French and Latin in *Corpus Reformationum*, XXXVII, pp. 720-730.

<sup>25</sup> This Confession ceased very early to be a requirement, as is proved by the fact that in 1566-1568 the following declaration was accepted as an equivalent: "*Je soussigné protest devant Dieu qui m' appelé au nombre de ses enfans de sa pure bonté et grace, vouloir vivre et mourir selon la pure doctrine evangelique qui est annoncée en ce cité de Genève, tesmoing mon seing manuel ci mis.*" Eight years later the dispensation was made official in words that are worth quoting: "*Vendredi, 29 Juin, 1576.—A esté advisé qu'es loix de l'Eschole qui seroyent imprimees cest article par lequel les estudians qui viennent en cest Eschole, sont astringts de signer la Confesion de foy entre les mains du Recteur servit oste d'autant que cela oste le moyen et aux papistes et aux luteriens de venir et profiter en ceste Eglise, et qu'il ne semble raisonnable de presser ainsy une conscience qui n'est resoluë de signer ce qu'elle n'entend pas ancores. Joinet qui ceux de Saxe ont prins occasion de ceste ordonnance de faire signer la confession d'Ausbourg aux nostres qui vont dependela. Que doresnavant ce seroit assez que les Escholiers donnassent leur nom au Recteur pour memoire qu' ils ont esté en l'Eschole, et qu' ils seroient exhortez de s' y porter modestement et faire leur devoir, vivant en la crainte de Dieu salon les ordonnances de l'Eglise.*" From this date the confession was imposed only on professors and regents as a guarantee of the orthodoxy of their teaching.



all the topics of the curriculum are taught, not from a heathen or religiously neutral, but from a distinctly Christian, point of view; (3) This teaching is possible only from those who have faith in Jesus Christ and the Scripture that testifies to him; (4) The school that sincerely strives towards this ideal will achieve surprising results in science and make great contributions to human improvement.

This ideal passed, more or less consciously, into the tradition of the Presbyterian churches, and, as worked out in Switzerland, France, Holland, Scotland, England, and America, made a contribution of no little value to the cause of education. It is instructive to trace the working of the tradition in our own country.<sup>26</sup> The seventeenth century colonists were predominantly Calvinists, and their educational efforts embodied to a greater or less extent the Calvinistic idea. The Puritan founders of New England planned to establish a Biblical Commonwealth, one of the corner stones of which was education. So the Puritan author of "New England's First Fruits" wrote: "One of the first things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity." These words were true because six years after the coming of the Puritans under Winthrop £400 were voted for a college, and in time Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and Brown were founded in answer to the desire for Christian education. The Walloon and Dutch Calvinists of New York and vicinity were moved by the same impulse to establish similar institutions. The Scotch Calvinists established the first classical school in central and western New York in 1741. The Scotch-Irish Calvinists founded Princeton in 1747. The Presbytery of Hanover organized Hampden Sidney in 1776, the second oldest college in the South. One of the first members of the Faculty of this institution founded Washington College, Tennessee, the first literary institution in the Mississippi valley. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians established the first

<sup>26</sup> See Professor Herbert D. Foster's articles on Calvin and Education in Paul Munroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*.



classical schools in North Carolina. There was nothing accidental in this educational effort, nor did chance bring the good results obtained; the former was due to the intellectual impulse of the system of thought, the latter to the logical result of the application of the idea to education in order to make it Christian.

It is, of course, not the purpose of this paper to claim for the Calvinistic forerunners all the educational blessings with which our country has been favored, because, judged by later standards, much of their work was insufficient. Nevertheless, their invaluable contribution to the cause of education lay in their emphasis on the Christian standpoint, their clear understanding of what this meant, and their partial elaboration of the method of attaining it. It is in our opinion possible to show that this supplies a factor missing in the educational theory of the day.

But what is this theory, and where shall we find it formulated? The task is formidable, but it may be reduced to manageable proportions by examining a few of the works on the principles of education recently recommended in one of the educational periodicals of the country.<sup>27</sup>

Professor Dewey's "Democracy and Education" is an impressive endeavor to detect and state the ideas implied in a democratic society, and to apply them to the problems of education. A democracy is an intentionally progressive group that aims at a great variety of mutually shared in-

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<sup>27</sup> *The School Review*, June, 1918. "The Professional Reading of the High School Principal," by Franklin W. Johnson. In this article are given lists of works on the various phases of education recommended by men engaged in university departments of education and by administrators of high schools. The lists do not attempt to be exhaustive, but to be representative of what practical men consider most valuable and most widely read. In the principles of education the following are the titles: John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 1916; E. C. Moore, *What Is Education?* 1915; W. C. Bagley, *Educational Values*, 1911; F. E. Bolton, *Principles of Education*, 1910; W. R. Smith, *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, 1917; E. L. Thorndike, *Education*, 1912. Although this list is not accepted in its entirety by any one individual, it nevertheless contains in all probability the most influential works on contemporary theory.

terests, while education includes all the processes by which such a group maintains its continuous existence. Therefore, in a democracy education must aim at a reorganization of the experience both of the changing individual and the changing group to which he belongs, in order to increase the social content of experience and the ability of the individual to act as directive guardian. The volume mentions neither religious education in general nor Christian education in particular, but the theory proposed may be religiously applied. Professor Dewey's own view, so far as his published writings explain it,<sup>28</sup> seems to be that if religion is taught in our schools it ought to aim to bring out the spiritual import of science and of democracy, the "fine flower of the modern spirit's achievement," but not the rites, symbols, emotions, and dogmatic beliefs with which religion has hitherto been associated. This is the line that Professor George A. Coe has followed.<sup>29</sup> His underlying thought is that in developing society there is a revelation of God that is the basis of religion and the material of religious education. In this view, Christ is one of the bearers of the love of God; His redemption is the transforming of the social order into a brotherhood of God; His pre-eminence lies in His social and ethical insight; His Scripture comes second to the divine manifestation of the successive situations of social development. Now it is very evident that here we have the inverse of the traditional Calvinistic order of consideration. Instead of considering God in the light of society, the older Calvinism placed society in the light of God; Christ is the bearer of God's love, without which we could not understand the other bearers; His redemption is the cause of the brotherhood of men, but is not equivalent to it; His Scripture is the necessary preparation to the understanding of the manifestations of God in human progress. It would seem, then, that if this theory is to be religiously applied two points must be modified in it: the

<sup>28</sup> See the *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1908, John Dewey, "Religion in Our Schools."

<sup>29</sup> In his *Social Theory of Religious Education*, 1917.

society it has in view must be enlarged to include the divine as this lay in the thought of Christ, while the concept of change whereby the present situation seems to have exclusive value must be modified to make room for the Christ who is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

Professor W. C. Bagley treats education as a process of modifying conduct, and then describes the various controls of conduct, inborn and acquired, and the way in which they may be influenced by education. This influencing, however, must not be haphazard, but directed to some end. This end is defined as social efficiency; this, in turn, is measured by social progress; and this, again, by achievement.<sup>30</sup> The author then analyzes the kind of conduct control engendered by the various topics of the curriculum into Training—Instructional, Inspirational, Disciplinary, Recreative, and Interpretative. The place of Religion is under the Inspirational function. So far there is nothing that could not be used by the Presbyterian tradition we have in mind; nevertheless, the author gives a hint of his own application that would seem to rob his thought of its true value. The place of religion in education is as a vitalizer of moral ideals. This it does because of its emotional appeal, and this, in turn, is true of all religion, whether it manifests itself in animistic, anthropomorphic, or idealized forms. Now so far as the religious impulse is concerned, the needs and desires, all men may be similar, but in the way in which these have been satisfied there is a vast difference. It is in the latter and not in the former that the inspirational value of religion consists.

It would be possible to elaborate the theme at greater length, but let these suffice as typical placings of religion

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<sup>30</sup> It would seem as if one had here a regressus in infinitum, arbitrarily stopped, but cf. the following: "But what is this social progress for which one should strive? What is its criterion? In the writer's opinion, the only rational answer to this question is, Achievement. That conduct is worthy which promotes achievement; that achievement is worthy which promotes among all men the possibilities of further achievement."

in the educational theory of the day. We would not be misunderstood as arguing for this or that tradition *per se*, but for a principle for the lack of which present-day education is suffering. This principle is, in a word, the recognition of Jesus Christ, not merely in His ethicality, but in His reasoned view of God and Man and the World. Where education is dominated by His person, His act, and His word, it has come under the influence of the grace of God.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> In another article it is proposed to treat "Human Nature and Christian Nurture."

## THE "HIGHER LIFE" MOVEMENT.<sup>1</sup>

The hinge on which the whole system of Mr. and Mrs. Pearsall Smith's Higher Life teaching turns is the separation of sanctification from justification as a distinct attainment in Christ.<sup>2</sup> Sanctification is not thought of by them as involved in justification, and necessarily issuing from it in the unfolding of the salvation received through faith in the "all-sufficient Saviour." It is thought of, on the contrary, as a wholly new acquisition, sought and obtained by an entirely fresh act of faith. The fundamental fact of their religious experience was that they were dissatisfied with the results of their acceptance of Christ as their "all-sufficient Saviour, bearing their sins in His own body on the tree."<sup>3</sup> They felt the imperative need of a fuller salvation than that exercise of faith had as yet brought them, and they were unwilling to await God's slow methods of developing this fuller salvation through the conflicts of life. They supposed themselves to have obtained it at once by supplementing their first faith, through which they had received only justification, by an additional faith,<sup>4</sup> through which they received sanctification. And this they proclaimed to be really God's appointed way for the sanctifica-

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<sup>1</sup> Continued from the preceding number of this REVIEW (October, 1918, pp. 572-622).

<sup>2</sup> Johannes Jüngst (*Amerikanischer Methodismus, und Robert Pearsall Smith*, 1875, pp. 62-66) has some admirable remarks upon this fundamental error of tearing apart two organically related things. "A justification which can endure for years without ripening true fruits of sanctification has been no justification at all in the evangelical sense. Can I talk of a fire which has been burning for years, but only to-day gives out warmth? According to both the Scriptures and the doctrine of the Church, justification and sanctification are two never to be separated twin sisters. He who is really justified and brought by Christ into the relation of a son to his God has received at the same time the impulse to sanctification, the impetus to an eternal advance. We must certainly bear in mind that the work of redemption in the Christian is a unitary whole."

<sup>3</sup> *The Record of a Happy Life*, p. 16

<sup>4</sup> *The Record of a Happy Life*, p. 37



tion of His children. Their whole gospel consists essentially, therefore, in the proclamation of what they speak of as "sanctification by faith," by which they mean immediate sanctification by a special exercise of faith directed to that particular end. They imagine that thus they escape the necessity of awaiting the completion of salvation only in some future experience. Though it comes in two separate stages, it does not come in their view by process. Each of these stages is an immediate attainment following at once on the exercise of a faith particularly for its attainment. We are freed from the guilt of sin by one act of faith, and we are freed from the power of sin by another act of faith. It is the immediacy of the effect which is the point of chief insistence: the suspension of it on faith alone is only a means to that end. Hence the watchwords, "A present salvation"—Jesus saves me *now!*", and "Sanctification by faith alone"—"Not by works or by effort, but by faith."<sup>5</sup>

This is what Mrs. Smith means when she describes the gospel which they proclaimed as "the glad tidings of a sufficiency to be found in the Lord Jesus, not only for our future salvation, but for our utmost present needs as well."<sup>6</sup> The present need which she has in mind is "real and present victory" over sin. And this is what Theodor Jellinghaus means when he explains<sup>7</sup> that the essential teaching of the Oxford Union Meeting was that "Jesus' blood and resurrection has delivered and delivers us not only from the guilt of sin, but also from all the power of sin, according to the Scriptures; that our sanctification comes not in parts through our efforts and self-mortifications according to the law, but through surrendering trust in Christ's redemptive power and leading." The words are capable of a good sense, as also are the words of his crisper statement: "Jesus is for every believing Christian a present deliverer, who lets

<sup>5</sup> Johannes Jüngst, as cited, pp. 66, quotes a German periodical of the time, which remarks that this haste to secure "full salvation" is a sign of the times: "Get rich quick, get saved quick!"

<sup>6</sup> *The Record of a Happy Life*, p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Das völlige, gegenwärtige Heil durch Christum*, ed. 4, 1898, p. 430.



none sit and sigh in the bonds of sin." But this good sense is not the sense intended. The sense intended is that those who have been justified by faith may attain sanctification also with equal immediacy by an equally simple exercise of faith. This is, of course, Perfectionism. The exact variety of Perfectionism that it is may be the object of further enquiry, but it is already declared in this general statement that what is taught is some form of Perfectionism. The immediate attainment of sanctification and Perfectionism are convertible terms.

The whole whirlwind campaign conducted by Mr. Smith from 1873 to 1875 was simply a concerted "drive" of American Perfectionism on the European stronghold.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to observe the forces converging to the assault at the Oxford Union Meeting. The presence on the platform there of Dr. Asa Mahan, the chief figure among the Oberlin Perfectionists, by the side of Mr. Boardman and Mr. Smith, reveals the significance of that meeting to the leaders of all types of the Perfectionist movement and their united effort to secure through it their common ends. Whatever differences may have existed among them in details of teaching, they were conscious of unity among themselves and between them and their Wesleyan colleagues, in the main object in view. In point of fact, Dr. Mahan was in complete harmony with Mr. Smith in the essence of the matter. For him, too, sanctification—and he at least felt

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<sup>8</sup> The air in London in the summer and autumn of 1875 was fairly palpitant with the Higher Christian Life. Mrs. Julia McNair Wright "reported" the meetings for *The Presbyterian* (Philadelphia), perhaps a little too sympathetically and yet with an eye open to excesses. Here is a vignette or two. She tells of "an errant American preacher" who "preempted the platform," and "was loud and long" in his claims to "complete sanctification," and "was more than righteously angry with all that denied such a claim." She tells also of "an elderly sister who claimed that even the roots of sin were dead in her heart." "We studied that sister carefully," says Mrs. Wright, "and came to the conclusion that her assertion was based, not on a fact of sanctification, but on an obtuseness of perception. She thought herself completely holy merely because her conscience did not demonstrate where other people's conscience would have lifted an outcry."

no hesitation in saying that he meant "perfect sanctification"—was at any moment obtainable by the Christian by a simple act of faith. For him, too, this sanctification was the work of the indwelling Christ alone. And for him, too, all effort on our part in the working of it out was excluded.<sup>9</sup>

Even on one point on which we might expect to find Dr. Mahan more decided than Mr. Smith there is no real difference between them, although Dr. Mahan gives to his exposition of it a somewhat greater fulness. We mean the reference to the sinner's own will of the really decisive action in every stage of his salvation, so that it may properly be said that his salvation continuously hangs purely on himself. Nothing could exceed the decisiveness of Mr. Smith's statements. The apostle Peter, referring to the case of Cornelius and his companions, speaks (Acts xv, 9) of God "purifying their hearts by faith." He is not speaking here of sanctification, it is true; but Mr. Smith takes him as if he were. The point to observe is that the passage, so understood, raises no barrier to Mr. Smith's affirming sharply, "we purify ourselves." God purifies us, says Peter; we purify ourselves, says Mr. Smith. We purify ourselves, but only by faith; and because we purify ourselves by faith, that means that we purify ourselves by using God to purify us; we by faith secure the purifying of our hearts by God. That is Mr. Smith's meaning when he says,<sup>10</sup>—to quote the sentence fully now—"We purify ourselves, not by effort, but by faith; not by works, but by the precious blood of Christ." He does not dream of questioning that it is we that purify ourselves: it is only a question of how we do it. He goes further, and declares that even the maintenance of our purified condition depends wholly on ourselves. "This clean and humble condition, however," he continues, "is ours only while the blood is applied by faith, for the very moment faith ceases to apply it corruption ensues, and the same old bitter waters flow out."

<sup>9</sup> For these elements of Dr. Mahan's teaching, see his *The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection*, 1844, pp. 91, 92, 189, 190.

<sup>10</sup> *Holiness Through Faith*, p. 76.

It is not possible for Dr. Mahan, then, to be more decided than Mr. Smith is, in referring our sanctification wholly to ourselves as its procuring cause, at the very same moment that he is referring it to God as its effecting cause. But Dr. Mahan explains more fully how the matter is arranged.<sup>11</sup> The sinner, according to him, has power "to avail himself of proffered grace," "to abide in Christ." And, having this power, it is his part to exercise it; and when he exercises it he is properly said to sanctify himself—though, of course, it is the grace of which he avails himself, the Christ in whom he abides, that immediately works the sanctification. "The sinner," he says, "is able to make himself a 'new heart and a new spirit,' because he can instantly avail himself of proffered grace. He does literally 'make to himself a new heart and a new spirit' when he yields himself up to the influence of that grace. The power to cleanse from sin lies with the blood and grace of Christ; and hence, when the sinner 'purifies himself by obeying the truth through the Spirit,' the glory of his salvation belongs not to him but to Christ." It is our business to "yield ourselves up to the influence of grace," which is identified with abiding in Christ. "We can abide in Christ and thus bring forth the fruit required of us." But it is the grace to which we yield ourselves, the Christ in whom we abide, that is the immediate worker of the actual effect. "Herein also lies the ability of the creature to obey the commands of God, addressed to us as redeemed sinners." We cannot obey them directly by our own act, but we can obey them, indirectly, by using Christ as an instrument through which we may perform what is required of us. "He that abideth in Me, and I in Him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without Me ye can do nothing." "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine, no more can ye except ye abide in Me." "These declarations are literally and unqualifiedly true. We can abide in Christ, and thus bear the fruit required of us. If by unbelief we

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<sup>11</sup> *The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection*, p. 92.

separate ourselves from Christ, we of necessity descend, under the weight of our own guilt and depravity, down the sides of the pit into the eternal sepulchre." It is not Christ in the last analysis that sanctifies us: He is merely the instrument through which we perform this work. *Facit per alium facit per se*: we are our own sanctifiers. Nevertheless, Christ is the sole instrument through which we can sanctify ourselves, and therefore faith, or "abiding in Christ," is the sole thing we have to do in the matter. And here comes in the Quietism of this teaching. "There is one circumstance connected with my recent experience," says Dr. Mahan,<sup>12</sup> "to which I desire to turn the special attention of the reader. I would here say, that I have for ever given up all idea of resisting temptation, subduing any lust, appetite, or propensity, or of acceptably performing any service for Christ, by the mere power of my own resolutions. If my propensities, which lead to sin, are crucified, I know that it must be done by an indwelling Christ. If I overcome the world, this is the victory, 'even our faith.' If the great enemy is to be overcome, it is to be done 'by the blood of the Lamb.'" We sanctify ourselves; but we do it only by faith. Beyond faith there is nothing for us to do. The Christ, released for the sanctifying work by faith, does the rest; and we must leave it to Him wholly. In all these matters Mr. Smith's teaching simply repeats Dr. Mahan's.

The primary zeal of these writers is naturally to establish the completeness of the sanctification which we receive immediately on faith. This amounts in their hands, as it amounted in the hands of the Wesleyans, to an attempt to substitute a doctrine of Perfectionism for the doctrine of Perseverance, and to discover the completeness of salvation in what we find in our possession, rather than in "what we shall be," which an apostle tells us is not yet made manifest. A very good example of how Scripture is dealt with in this interest is supplied by the address which Dr. Mahan delivered at the first morning hour of the first full day of the

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<sup>12</sup> pp. 189, 190.

Oxford Union Meeting.<sup>13</sup> He seizes here upon the declaration of Heb. vii, 25, that Christ is able to save to the uttermost them that come unto God by Him. The idea of the "uttermost" of this passage includes that of "glorification." As A. B. Davidson puts it: "The offering of Christ enables men to draw near unto God; those that thus draw near He is able to save completely, to bring them through all hindrances to that honour and glory designed for them, which He Himself has reached as the Captain of their salvation." But for this Dr. Mahan has no consideration. He emphasizes merely the strong assertion of the completeness of Christ's salvation contained in the word, and then demands, dramatically: "Why is that power of Christ revealed, if we are not to avail ourselves of it? Why are we told what He is able to do, if we suppose that He is not ready to do it, or that we are not authorized to expect it?" "Expand your hearts," he exhorts us; "expect to receive *and receive* all that He is able to do." "It is a great sin," he declares, "to 'limit the Holy One of Israel.' '*Save to the uttermost!*' We are to cease to limit His power, and take Christ at His word!" The response, of course, rises to the lips of every simple believer—that the power of Christ to save to the uttermost is the foundation of all our hope, and that everyone who believes in Him commits himself to Him for this and nothing less; we do, all of us, expect to receive and do receive it all, without limitation and without diminution, and in this expectation, sure and steadfast, lies all our comfort and all our joy. But the revelation of it would not need to be made to us—we would not need to be told of it—if it were a present experience not a matter of hope. Nor would the revelation made in this great declaration be true, if the measure of salvation we have already received were all that we could look to Him for, if a complete salvation both of soul and body were not the portion of His saints. And certainly it would not be true if even the measure of salvation we have already received from Him were unstable or liable

<sup>13</sup> *Account*, etc., pp. 49-55.



to be lost to-morrow, its maintenance depending not on Him but on us. The whole force of the declaration hangs precisely upon our being as yet *viatores*, not *consummatores*; exactly what it does is to give us assurance of the consummation. The state of that Christian is sad indeed who must believe that what he already is is the uttermost which Christ is able to do for him, and that henceforth he must depend on himself.

On the afternoon of the very same day, Mr. Smith, in the very same spirit, exhorted his hearers not to put an arbitrary limitation on the power of God by postponing the completion of their salvation to the end of their "pilgrimage," and so virtually attributing to death the sanctifying work which they ought to find rather in Christ. "Shall not Christ do more for you than death?" he demands, and then he develops a *reductio ad absurdum*. We expect a dying grace by which we shall be really made perfect. How long before death is the reception of such a grace possible? "An hour? A day? Peradventure a week? Possibly two or three weeks if you are very ill? One good man granted this position until the period of six weeks was reached, but said that more than six weeks of such living"—that is, of course, living in entire consecration and full trust, with its accompanying "victory"—"was utterly impossible." "Are your views as to the limitations of dying grace," he inquires, "only less absurd because less definite?" The absurdity lies, however, only in the assumption of this "dying grace"—Mr. Smith describes it as "a state of complete trust to be arrived at, but not until death." The Scriptures know of no such thing; they demand complete trust from all alike, as the very first step of the conscious Christian life. It finds its real source in the Arminian notion that our salvation depends on our momentary state of mind and will at that particular moment. Whether we are ultimately saved or not will depend, then, on whether death catches us in a state of grace or fallen from grace. Our eternal future, thus, hangs quite absolutely on the state of mind we happen (happen is the



right word here) to be in at the moment of death: nothing behind this momentary state of mind can come into direct consideration. This absurd over-estimate of the importance of the moment of dying is the direct consequence of the rejection of the Bible doctrine of Perseverance and the substitution for it of a doctrine of Perfection as the meaning of Christ being our Saviour to the uttermost. The real meaning of this great declaration is just that to trust in Jesus is to trust in One who is able and willing and sure to save to the uttermost—to the uttermost limit of the progress of salvation. Death in this conception of the saving Christ loses the factitious significance which has been given to it. Our momentary state of mind at the moment of death is of no more importance than our momentary state of mind at any other instant. We do not rest on our state of mind, but on Christ, and all that is important is that we are "in Christ Jesus." He is able to save to the uttermost, and faithful is He that calls us, who also will do it. He does it in His own way, of course; and that way is by process—whom He calls He justifies, and whom He justifies He glorifies. *He* does it; and therefore we know that our glorification is as safe in His hands as is any other step of our salvation. To be progressively saved is, of course, to postpone the completion of our salvation to the end of the process. Expecting the end of the process only at the time appointed for it is no limitation upon the power of the Saviour; and looking upon death as the close of the process is a very different thing from looking upon death as a Saviour.

It will not require to be pointed out that the whole tendency of such arguments as we have just quoted is to establish the immediate attainment by faith of all that can be subsumed under the term "salvation." Whatever Christ came to give is ours to-day—not in developing, but in developed form—for the taking. "You must agree with us," says Mr. Smith,<sup>14</sup> "that whatever the Holy Spirit makes

<sup>14</sup> *Holiness Through Faith*, p. 41.

us to yearn for, Christ came to give." Once the chief need of our soul was pardon of our sins; we trusted Christ for it and got it. Now, says he, substitute for pardon, "purity of heart," "holiness," being "filled with the Spirit," whole-hearted "love to God and your neighbor," or "righteousness." Trust Christ for them and you shall have them all, in their completeness, here and now. Here is a doctrine of salvation, not by faith, but by faiths. Not content with dividing salvation into two halves, each of which is to be obtained by its own special act of faith, Mr. Smith pulverizes it into numerous distinct particles, each of which is to be sought and acquired by its own separate act of faith. The principle he lays down is that we are to trust in Christ for whatever our soul feels the need of, in each several instance, separately, and thus pile faith on faith. In this way we make our way through the Christian life by repeated acts of believing. Not only so, but it is to us in each several instance precisely according to our faith. "Full faith gives full deliverance; partial faith the partial victory. So much faith, so much deliverance; no more, no less."<sup>15</sup> It is our faith, then, which regulates our grace; and that means that it is we and not God who save. "The stream can ascend no higher than the passage that conveys water from the fountain. Faith is the channel. While the fountain is infinite in depth and in height, the flow is regulated by the channel opened for it." Mr. Smith himself draws the inference with reference to sanctification, and that with the emphasis of italics. "*If we would live up to the gospel standard of holiness we must believe up to the gospel standard of faith.*"<sup>16</sup> This is a dismal outlook for those of "little faith," and indeed is as complete a doctrine of work-salvation as Pelagius' own. We advert to it, however, only by the way, as illustrative of Mr. Smith's general conception of "the way of life." Despite the confidence with which it is presented, it is held in subordination to the dichotomiz-

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<sup>15</sup> p. 49

<sup>16</sup> p. 85

ing of salvation into justification and sanctification—each the product of its own act of faith. It may serve, however, to make clear to us that Mr. Smith supposes sanctification to be attainable in its fulness by mere faith—provided, of course, the faith is full faith. He that yearns for perfect sanctification can have it on perfect faith. "Full faith gives the full deliverance."

Precisely how Mr. Smith conceived his full sanctification, however, it requires some further discrimination to make clear. Theodor Jellinghaus wishes us not to confound it with the "perilous" Wesleyan doctrine of a complete deliverance from sin.<sup>17</sup> He is right in insisting on this. Mr. Smith, like Mr. Boardman before him, teaches only that we are saved from all sinning; Wesley, that we are saved from all sin. The way Jellinghaus expresses the distinction between the two parties is this:<sup>18</sup> "Whereas Wesley teaches a sudden destruction (*einmaliges Ertöten*) of sin, so that every sinful motion that shows itself afterwards is a proof of the loss of this stage of Christian perfection, they" (that is, Messrs. Boardman and Smith) "teach that the Christian who hungers after deeper sanctification enters, through complete surrender and trust in the power of the blood of Christ to cleanse and preserve from all sin, into such a condition of the soul that he can continuously conquer. If he, nevertheless, stumbles again, he is to confess and repent and be cleansed again, and then enter boldly at once again into the same condition." They accordingly read I John 1:7, with an emphasis on the present tense: "If we walk in the light, the blood of Jesus Christ *cleanseth* us from all sin," and interpret it as meaning that our cleansing from sin is a continuous act. Wesley, on the contrary, read the text erroneously with a past tense: "The blood of Jesus Christ *has cleansed* us from all sin," and referred 1:8 to false teachers who denied that they were by nature sinful, needing redemption and purification by

<sup>17</sup> *Das völlige gegenwärtige Heil*, &c., ed. 4, p. 717.

<sup>18</sup> *Das völlige, gegenwärtige Heil durch Christum*, ed. 4, 1898, p. 721.

Christ. Jellinghaus goes on to say<sup>19</sup> that accordingly there was very little of the specifically Wesleyan doctrine heard at the Oxford Union Meeting. What was heard daily was declarations like these: "I feel my inward corruption more than ever"; "we remain in ourselves sinful and liable to sin"; "sinless perfection is pure nonsense—we do not dream of such a thing"; "no one can say I can be holy if I will"; "our strength in faith lies in the knowledge of our own sinfulness and inability to conquer"; "you cannot be cleansed to-day from all unconscious faults, but only from the faults and sins which God has as yet revealed to you"; "we are cleansed only according to our knowledge or our light, therefore as we advance we discover sins in us hitherto unknown, which must be destroyed"; "the sanctified Christian is not holy in his own nature, but only through a life of faith in Christ, which makes and preserves us holy"; "it is not sin that is dead, but we are dead to sin." All this amounts only to saying that the precise teaching of Messrs. Boardman and Smith is that when we receive Christ for sanctification what we receive is a sanctifying power, able to make and keep us holy in all our acts. In his earlier and better period Mr. Boardman read the last clause, rather: "pledged to make and keep us holy in all our acts." Mr. Smith reads it rather: "able to make and keep us holy in all our acts—if we constantly rest in perfect trust upon Him for it." Thus he throws us back on our own activity to maintain (through Christ) our sanctification. The state itself into which we come by our trust is a state of sanctification, of holiness, of perfection; but a state of perfection of acts, not of heart, and so a state of perfection which has its seat not in us but in Christ. We are perfect as long as we abide in Christ. As Theodor Jellinghaus puts it:<sup>20</sup> "It is a fundamental idea of the holiness-movement that sanctification and undisturbable peace of heart may be found and maintained by believingly obedient rest on the

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<sup>19</sup> p. 722.

<sup>20</sup> As cited, p. 435.

sanctifying will and gracious leading of God in Christ Jesus."

On its negative side this teaching denies that the sinful nature is eradicated. Mr. Smith's language is not always exact in this matter. He speaks repeatedly of "the purification of the heart by faith"—partly, no doubt, because of his erroneous interpretation of Acts xv, 9 of sanctification. He even sometimes speaks very confusingly of our having received "a new nature" when we believed, though, when he does so, he is careful to explain that the reception of this "new nature" has not extruded the old nature. "Being born of God," he says,<sup>21</sup> "we received in addition to the old nature (the flesh) a new nature, an actual existence begotten of God, of 'incorruptible seed.'" He even speaks in one passage, indeed,<sup>22</sup> most inconsistently, as if we had been changed in our very being by our union with Christ. "Shall the larger part of my being be held by Satan? Nay, henceforth it shall gravitate, not towards sin, but towards God; . . . no longer 'prone to wander,' though *liable* to it every moment, the current of our being sets toward God and not toward sin." All such language must be set down to the credit of traditional modes of expression intruding into Mr. Smith's speech. It does not express his own point of view. This he declares most explicitly. "Remember," says he,<sup>23</sup> "that *you* are now no better in and of yourself—only you have learned that you may dare to trust Christ for more than you ever conceived of before." He does not teach, he says,<sup>24</sup> "perfection in the flesh," but rather its exact antithesis. Nay, not only does there not dwell in the flesh any good thing, "but there never will be any good thing in it or coming out of it." The Articles of the Church of England speak truly when they say, "This infection of nature doth remain, even in them that are regenerate." We are always to pray, "Forgive us our debts"—"for, even where

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<sup>21</sup> *Holiness Through Faith*, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> *Account of the Oxford Union Meeting*, p. 156.

<sup>23</sup> *Do*, p. 232.



we are not immediately conscious of displeasing God, there is so much in the debilitated condition of our moral nature, and in our lives, at an infinite moral distance from the perfect holiness of God." The passage from which we are quoting<sup>24</sup> bears on its face an apologetical character. Mr. Smith is obviously defending himself from criticisms which had been made of his doctrine. His defence consists in the very emphatic denial that "the infection of nature" is eradicated or that we are ever freed wholly from sin.

He does teach, however, on the positive side, as he gives us at once to understand,<sup>25</sup> that we are freed from sinning. Even here, however, a qualification is introduced. He does not teach that we are freed from all sinning, but only from all conscious sinning. He is willing to admit that there is a standard of holiness above the holiness to which he contends that we may attain. Our own perceptions of what is right and what is wrong do not constitute a final standard: "Christ is our only standard." "Trespass against the known will of God" is "therefore only one, but not the only, definition of sin." Under a higher definition of sin we could not claim to be free from sin; but under this lower definition of sin—which is one though not the only definition of sin—we are, on believing, made free from sin. We are not, then, "to 'continue in sin,' in the sense of known evil."<sup>26</sup> "Christ came to save us from this." This does not mean that Christ came to save us from this only. Christ meets "in the atonement not only all conscious guilt, but also all unperceived evil in our moral condition or ways." He saves us from all our guilt. But, besides saving us from our guilt, he saves us also from all conscious sinning. "Christ came to heal us, not to leave his Church one general hospital of sick souls"<sup>27</sup>—a simile borrowed possibly from Isaac M. See<sup>28</sup> and running in its implications somewhat beyond Mr.

<sup>24</sup> *Account of the Oxford Union Meeting*, p. 150.

<sup>25</sup> p. 150.

<sup>26</sup> p. 150.

<sup>27</sup> p. 151.

<sup>28</sup> *The Rest of Faith*, 1871, pp. 14 f.: "We have heard that a certain



Smith's meaning. For Mr. Smith does not deny that the Church contains only sick souls. He only affirms that Christ, on being appealed to for that purpose, takes away all the sickness of which these souls are conscious. The Church may, and should, then, contain none who are consciously sick; and the simile is intended to affirm strongly that this is Christ's purpose for His Church—that all its members should be free from all known sin. Christ "will give us not pardon only, but deliverance from the power and act of sin."

Mr. Smith thus very distinctly teaches a Perfectionism. But the Perfectionism which he teaches is equally distinctly a subjective, not an objective, Perfectionism. It might be described as living up to the light that is in us. "It is noticeable," he says<sup>29</sup> "how constantly the Scripture speaks to *our consciousness*, rather than in absolute terms, carefully avoiding all metaphysical distinctions and suiting the expressions to the realized need of the believing hearer." Accordingly we must define both sin and holiness relatively to our consciousness. Sin is "the *consciousness* of transgression of God's will"; holiness, "loving God with the whole heart, *unconscious* of any active, inward evil." What is asked of us, he explains, is not perfect faultlessness, but "a conscience void of offence"; not "absolute perfection," but living "up to the measure of to-day's consciousness." "The Apostles," says he,<sup>30</sup> "neither claim an absolute holiness nor open the door for a defiled conscience." He speaks on this subject from 2 Chron. xxix, 16, which tells us that the priests brought out of the temple all the

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divine once said that the Church is a hospital where the inmates are all sick. When they get well they are taken to heaven. The person speaking may have believed it, but we believe the sentiment is of the devil. . . . If so . . . then, too, the churches that are scattered here and there through the land are only infirmaries where people come to be treated by the Great Physician, who proceeds to cure the people by a slow process, in the meantime leaving them to the oversight of these sick ministering nurses," that is, their pastors.

<sup>29</sup> *Holiness Through Faith*, p. 90: The italics are ours.

<sup>30</sup> *Account of the Oxford Union Meeting*, p. 78.

uncleanness that *they found* in it. He emphasizes the words "all that they found." "It was 'all that they found,' that they carried forth," he says.<sup>31</sup> "We shall never know in this life the absolute purity of the Lord Jesus. We are, and ever shall be, at an immense moral distance from 'the Holy One,' but we cry to God for light to see the evil within us progressively as we are able to bear it; and we must accept strength from Him to 'carry forth' all that in our divine vision we can see of 'filthiness out of the holy place.' " "There never was but One," he says again, "who, from the cradle to the grave, was in every thought, affection, and action a complete burnt offering. Everything in us is short of the perfect holiness of Christ; yet we may, *up to the very furthest measure of our consciousness*, present ourselves living sacrifices, holy and acceptable to God. In each moment as to the attitude of our souls, we may, *so far as we see and know*, be wholly the Lord's, yet with each day's increasing intelligence being more and yet more completely the Lord's." " 'The blood cleanseth'—is ever cleansing—sin *from the conscience*, as it is progressively revealed"; which is not exactly what I John 1, 7 says.

We perceive that in this conception of the nature of holiness, as living up to the light that is in us, a doctrine of progressive sanctification is developed, which is in harmony with Perfectionism. The light that is in us may increase, and as it increases we rise to ever higher planes of living, but not to greater perfection. We can be perfect at each stage, while no stage is final: "there is no finality short of the Throne of God." My ignorance of God's will at each stage will permit me to act contrary to His objective will and yet maintain "the Rest of Faith," "entire consecration." "I breathe to-day," we are told,<sup>32</sup> "the atmosphere of the love of God, every past sin forgiven, and, through the blood of cleansing, without a present *sense* of transgression—not a cloud to separate me from God; but I may not be able to

<sup>31</sup> *Account of the Oxford Union Meeting*, p. 60.

<sup>32</sup> *Holiness Through Faith*, p. 59: the italics are ours.

walk to-morrow *with a clear conscience* in all the paths I tread to-day." "It follows from this," we are told again,<sup>33</sup> "that persons who have great light on the teaching of Scripture may be walking outwardly in advance of the sanctified but ignorant Christian, while yet the one is sinning and under a *sense* of condemnation, and the other, more ignorant but more trusting, walks with a *conscience* void of offence." A recently converted heathen, accordingly, living in a half-light, may commit many heathenish horrors and yet be none the less perfect. The standard being a subjective, not an objective one, our knowledge, not God's law, Christian perfection does not mean the fulfilling of all that God requires of a Christian, but only of all that a Christian's conscience, in its changing degrees of knowledge, requires from time to time of himself. The subjectiveness of the thought is intense, and one is tempted to apply the proverb, "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."<sup>34</sup>

Meanwhile Mr. Smith, on the basis of this theory of "adjusted holiness"—a phrase of W. B. Pope's—is able to declare the Christian at every stage of his development perfect; and having done that, he permits the idea of perfection to run away with him. Because the Christian is "perfect" at every stage of his development, Mr. Smith forgets that this perfection is, according to his own teaching, an imperfect perfection, perfect only to the Christian's consciousness; and that only the ultimate goal to which he is tending is objective perfection. He thinks now of an ever objectively perfect Christian advancing to a higher kind of perfection: the Christian is growing all the time, but he is growing not towards perfection—that he possesses all the time—but towards maturity. "Remember," he counsels us,<sup>35</sup> "that soul-health is very different from maturity. The sour apples in April are perfect; in October they are matured or 'per-

<sup>33</sup> p. 60: the italics are ours.

<sup>34</sup> Compare the *reductio ad absurdum* of these teachings of Mr. Smith's given by Thomas Smith, *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, April 1876, p. 271 f.

<sup>35</sup> *Account of the Oxford Union Meeting*, p. 323.

fectured.' At our best we are but ripening, and yet I do not shrink from Scripture terms. The Bible speaks of many perfect men—'as many as be perfect,' but adds, 'not as though I was already *perfected*.' Little children are 'perfect' in all their immaturity. Do not confound an unobtainable, absolute, or divine holiness with an attainable victory over known sin. When Paul asserted, 'I know nothing against myself'—not as a ground of justification, but of his conscience void of offence; and when John said, 'We keep the commandments and do those things that are pleasing in His sight,' they neither claimed absolute holiness nor opened a door for a defiled conscience." He is thinking here of the Christian's growth as if it were a normal growth like the ripening of an apple, at every stage perfect for that stage. It seems to have escaped his mind that a Christian's growth is a progressive cleansing from imperfections and has not "maturity" but "cleansing" as its goal. No doubt, says Johannes Jüngst,<sup>36</sup> properly, the growth which Mr. Smith's simile pictures to us would be the normal development of the divine life in a sinless soul; but it is not such a development that we poor sinners must pass through, and Mr. Smith also allows that we are in this world poor sinners: which is much the same thing that Lyman H. Atwater means when he declares<sup>37</sup> that Mr. Smith and his companions describe in such passages not such a growth as takes place on earth, but that which takes place in heaven.

But Mr. Smith has another expedient by which the perfection of the imperfect Christian can be vindicated. When expounding his doctrine of merely subjective perfection, at one point,<sup>38</sup> he drops this remark: "This might be termed a Christian, not a Divine, nor an angelic, nor yet an Adamic, perfection." That is to say, Christian perfection differs from all other kinds of perfection precisely in this, that it

<sup>36</sup> As cited, p. 58.

<sup>37</sup> *The Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review*, July, 1877, p. 415.

<sup>38</sup> *Holiness Through Faith*, p. 59.

is not real perfection. That is a pity, if true, and provokes the jibe that one may then be a perfect Christian, it seems, without being a perfect man.<sup>39</sup> We are face to face here, in other words, with that Antinomian tendency which is the nemesis that follows on the heels of all forms of Perfectionism. In order to vindicate the perfection of the Christian the perfection of his perfection is sacrificed. The cant phrase is that he is under no other law than that "of this dispensation," as if the law of holiness were a mere body of positive enactments which might vary from time to time and is not grounded in the nature of things, to say nothing now of the Nature of God Himself. Mr. Smith runs through the whole wretched story.<sup>40</sup> "We are not called to the standard of a different dispensation from that in which our lives are to be lived. We are not called to walk by the rule of angels, . . . or yet even by the rule of a yet unfallen Adam. Neither is our standard that which will be ours in glorified bodies. . . . The obedience to which Christ is wooing us is not the legal obedience of a stainless perfection of knowledge and act impossible to these clouded faculties. . . . We are called to a hearty and supreme love of God, and to love our neighbour as ourselves. 'Love is the fulfilling of the law.' '*A new Commandment* I give unto you.'" "It would seem, then, that love is God's law and standard in this dispensation, and that whatever is not contrary to love does not now bring condemnation upon our consciences." "We cannot claim any perfection beyond this, that up to the furthest line of to-day's consciousness we have the witness that we do love God and our brethren

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Lyman H. Atwater, as cited, p. 408: "The late Bishop Janes, in his introduction to the book entitled *Pioneer Experiences*, says that, 'while entire sanctification makes us perfect Christians, it does not make us perfect men.'" The distinction between religious and moral perfection is curiously illustrated by a phrase of Mrs. Smith's (*My Spiritual Autobiography*, 213): "I saw that God was good, not religiously good only, but really and actually good in the truest sense of that word." The notion that a being can be "religiously good" without being "really and actually good" is not a wholesome one.

<sup>40</sup> *Holiness Through Faith*, p. 105.



and keep a conscience (or knowledge) void of offence." The only alleviation of this calamitous teaching is that the way is left open for growth; and it is gravely questionable whether this can consistently be done. "Each day of full obedience," we read,<sup>41</sup> "is a day of advancing knowledge. Yesterday's standard of walk will not answer for to-day. The past twilight did not discover some defiling bone in my tent, and it did not then bring an evil conscience; but, in the clearer light of to-day, the same contact would bring condemnation. The essential thing is not perfect light or perfect knowledge, but perfect obedience to the light and knowledge already bestowed."

In developing now this doctrine of the Christian's growth Mr. Smith sometimes speaks, as has already no doubt been noted, as if such a growth were not only normal for the Christian but sure to be experienced by him. The steps and stages of it seem to be represented as steps and stages through which Christ leads His children in conforming them more and more closely to His image. It nevertheless admits of some question how far Mr. Smith means to leave the impression that when once we have surrendered ourselves to Christ by faith we are in His hands and will not merely be "sanctified" by Him at once subjectively to our own consciences, but also gradually step by step "sanctified" by Him objectively, according to the standard of God's holiness. Cross-currents of doctrine affecting this matter are flowing through his mind. He wishes to throw on Christ, to whom our lives are committed in faith, the whole responsibility for their direction. He wishes to keep in the hands of the believer the whole responsibility for his experiences. The solution of the paradox which he ordinarily suggests is that we have the responsibility for being in Christ, and Christ has the responsibility for the lives of those in Him. He has difficulty, however, in working this suggestion out consistently in detail.

With respect to himself, at least, he is very emphatic that

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<sup>41</sup> p. 108.



his commitment of himself to Christ was once for all. "I am, of course," he says,<sup>42</sup> "with increasing intelligence always more completely given to God. Yet as regards the deliberate full surrender, I did it but once. Thenceforward I looked on it as a thing irrevocably done, just as we look on our marriage for life. We do not say the 'I will,' 'I give thee my troth' of the marriage ceremony year after year, however more holy and complete may become the union of hearts." The conception which informs this statement is not that of a moment by moment surrender, but of a surrender done once for all, and valid thenceforward for ever. And this conception is repeatedly thrown forward. It is very sharply asserted, with the emphasis on the divine side of the transaction—the side of "Preservation" as distinguished from "Perseverance"—in a passage like the following:<sup>43</sup> "As you definitely turned your back to the world, and accepted pardon through Christ, so now, with equal definiteness, give yourselves to be the Lord's, wholly the Lord's, and for ever the Lord's; to accept His will, to let Him live your lives for you. . . . We dare to believe that He will go on to 'perfect that which concerneth us.' We no longer faithlessly say, 'I shall some day fall by the hand of the enemy,' but rather, 'I will yet praise Him more and more.' We are beginning to feel the power of that word, 'elect unto obedience,' and have given ourselves to a life of instantaneous, implicit, uniform obedience to God. We do not expect to be doing and doing this again and again, but always to recognize that we *have done it*. Liable in each moment to fail, we expect, in an hourly miracle of grace, to be 'kept by the power of God.' " If the sense of security expressed here seems not quite as pure as the point of view occupied requires, and we still hear of a constant "liability" to fail, we are glad to learn from other passages that this liability is understood to be in process of progressive elimination, and that it is not thought of as "liability" to more than what is commonly called

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<sup>42</sup> *Account of the Oxford Union Meeting*, p. 136.

<sup>43</sup> p. 152.

"back-sliding."<sup>44</sup> "The old nature," we read, "is liable in each moment to assume the sway, and yet it may in each moment be kept in the place of death and beneath our feet. Faith's power over it becomes more uniform every day. There will be conflict all along, but victory, not defeat." And again:<sup>45</sup> "Should failure come, let us not delay one instant a full confession and restoration. Sometimes, in this life of full faith, there may come a momentary parenthesis of failure. We may expect these, but if we stumble we will not be there an instant. The way back is open. 'If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' He who thus claims instantaneous restoration finds failure to fade out of the life and communion to become more and more unbroken."

Perhaps Mr. Smith's fundamental meaning here nowhere finds clearer statement than in the closing pages of *Holiness Through Faith*. He is there speaking of our "abandoning" ourselves to Christ. "I like that word 'abandon,' " he says,<sup>46</sup> "it expresses the soul's attitude towards Christ. . . . It places the soul in Christ's hands and makes Him alone responsible, if we may so speak, for all results. Our responsibility ends with the abiding; for then He himself works in us both to *will* and to do of His good pleasure. A life of abiding is a life in which we sin not (Jas. iii, 6); we bear much fruit (John xv, 5); we ask what we will, and it shall be done unto us (John xv, 7); and then when He shall appear, we shall have confidence before Him at His coming." The antimony is glaring and cannot be covered up. If, when we "abandon" ourselves to Christ, we place ourselves in His Hands, so that He becomes responsible for all results, does He not become re-

<sup>44</sup> Mr. Smith's assertions on this side reach their climax in the declaration he is reported to have made at the Brighton Conference: "I know no example of a relapse from the higher life" (Hauck-Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie* <sup>3</sup>, xxiii, p. 530, lines 29, 30).

<sup>45</sup> p. 321.

<sup>46</sup> p. 274.

<sup>47</sup> pp. 155, 156.

sponsible for our continued "abiding," too? But Mr. Smith intends to remove precisely that out of His responsibility and to reserve precisely that to us as the condition of Christ's keeping us. This amounts in the end, of course, to saying that He will keep us, if we will only keep ourselves: He will keep us in the way if we will only keep ourselves in the Way. Mr. Smith is, to put it in one word, teaching Quietism, not Evangelicalism. It is our will, after all, not Christ's will, that governs our lives. Christ can keep us only if we let Him keep us. We must first "abandon" ourselves to Him before He can take the responsibility for our lives. He can maintain His control of our lives only if we "abide" in Him. And at any moment we can—are "liable" to—snatch their control out of His hands.<sup>48</sup>

It is perhaps worth noting, in passing, that Mr. Smith is not unaware that the determining place which he gives to the will in religion requires of him a special doctrine of the will. He even ventures upon a psychological grounding of this doctrine. "President Edwards' teaching of the affections governing the will," he says,<sup>49</sup> "I believe to be untrue. The will governs the affections. I believe in the yet older saying that 'True religion resides in the will alone.'" His immediate purpose here is to protect his hearers from imagining that religion consists in "frames and feelings." "Many are feeling deeply," he says, "but I desire to take you away from your emotions." But in order to take them away from their emotions he propounds a purely voluntative theory of religion. This was held to his

<sup>48</sup> Here is a hard saying of the Rev. D. B. Hankin's (*Account of the Oxford Union Meeting*, pp. 83 f.): "I trusted the Lord as never before, and found Him faithful to His promise in keeping me from falling: when I have stumbled, as I do even now sometimes, the failure is mine, not Christ's." He means that it is only when his trust fails that Christ's keeping fails. But he also means that when his trust fails Christ's keeping fails. He means, that is, that Christ's keeping depends on his own trusting. Christ has promised to keep him from falling; and Christ will be faithful to that promise,—that is, will keep him from falling. Nevertheless he falls whenever he wishes to, and Christ does not keep him from doing so.

<sup>49</sup> *Account of the Oxford Union Meeting*, p. 134.

credit when he went to Germany. Johannes Jüngst<sup>50</sup> recalls that it was noted there that "he does not aim to call out a movement of the emotions and feelings, but the will is awakened almost in a Kantian fashion. Religion lies for him chiefly in the will. He thanks God that it does not lie for him in the feelings." The allusion in this closing sentence is to a pathetic story which Mr. Smith tells at this place, of how, when lying ill in South America, after the fall from his horse which has already been mentioned, in the deepest nervous depression and in the midst of powerful assaults of Satan, he "was thankful then that religion was in his will." "To all Satan's attacks I said, 'I will believe: live or die, in agony or joy, I *will* believe!' I seemed as one with his back to the rock and beset by devils. . . . I know whereof I affirm; I speak that I know, when I say God's salvation is beyond the region of our emotions." Of course there is defective analysis here and consequent self-deception. Because the "emotions" he has in mind were not the determinants of his will on this occasion, he fancies that the will is not determined by any emotions. He is not aware that in the sentence from Fénelon on which he supports himself, the term "will" includes the affections. He does not even stop to consider that when he makes religion to consist in "faith," or trust" as he calls it here,—with "no sensible religious emotion for almost months, I *did* trust God, not only for final salvation, but for a conscience void of offence"—he is placing its essence in an affection. He is only intent on suspending all religion on undetermined acts of the will. He conceives of himself as able at any time to act in either part by a sheer arbitrary choice, and, whatever Fénelon meant, Mr. Smith means to hang all religion on such arbitrary choices. He "abandons" himself to Christ, he "abides in" Christ—or he falls away from Christ by sin—all by arbitrary acts of will. It is on these arbitrary acts of will that all the divine operations in salvation depend.

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<sup>50</sup> As cited, p. 96.

For "substance of doctrine" the teaching of Mrs. Smith does not differ greatly from that of her husband. There is an occasional slight difference in modes of statement. There is also perhaps some difference in emphasis. The mystical aspects of the doctrine—especially its Quietistic elements—are more dwelt upon in Mrs. Smith's teaching. Their Quaker inheritance in general colors her presentation of their common teaching as it does not his, and this is increasingly so as the years go on. It is quite evident that Mrs. Smith found a growing pleasure in presenting her doctrine in a Quaker mould. She held also very strongly a doctrine of universal salvation, and declared that she would not be muzzled in the expression of it, although, in point of fact, it is not obtruded in her "holiness" teaching.<sup>51</sup> Mrs. Smith's career as a religious writer, moreover, extended over more than thirty years. It is not strange that she does not preserve entire consistency with herself through all these years in the details of her teaching, or perhaps the same zeal in the propagation of this or another of her peculiar conceptions. There is evidence that she not only gave up wholly in later years the separation of sanctification from justification, which was the very heart of her teaching at the height of the propaganda, but very much mitigated the assertion of perfection. Nevertheless, what she teaches on "holiness" during the Higher Life movement is what Mr. Smith teaches, and, in general, she teaches it just as he teaches it, often in precisely the same terms.

In the opening pages of her chief book, *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life*, she defines "the Higher Christian Life," to the propagation of which they had both given themselves with single-hearted devotion. "Its chief characteristics," she says,<sup>52</sup> "are an entire surrender to the Lord, and a perfect trust in Him, resulting in victory over sin and inward rest of soul." The adjunction of "rest of soul" to "victory over sin" in the description of the thing sought—

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<sup>51</sup> *My Spiritual Autobiography*, pp. 222 f.

<sup>52</sup> p. 37.



she says, rather, the thing obtained—is perhaps characteristic of her personal attitude. It is perhaps also characteristic of her personal attitude that the sentence is given a somewhat mechanical turn. She wishes victory over sin and inward rest of soul, and she knows how to get them. The recipe to be followed is, “entire surrender to the Lord and a perfect trust in Him.” The result will follow. In a later book,<sup>53</sup> at least, we find her discoursing of “inevitable law” in these high spiritual matters, and announcing with reference to them the perhaps disputable proposition, that “the man who discovers the law of anything possesses a power in regard to that thing as limitless as the law itself.” Mrs. Smith, now, knows the law of life: it consists in surrender and trust. We are in a position, accordingly, to control this life. These slight shades of suggestion apart, however, the sentence, in its isolation, is unexceptionable. All Christians understand that victory over sin and inward rest of soul come—and come only—by entire surrender to the Lord and perfect trust in Him. The sentence must be put in its setting in Mrs. Smith’s system to bring out its meaning to her. That setting is supplied in part in the little autobiographical sketch which she gave the ladies in her first Bible Reading at the Oxford Union Conference.<sup>54</sup> “I saw,” she said, “that sanctification was by faith as well as justification; that the same Saviour who delivers us from the guilt of sin delivers us also from its power; and that the very righteousness which the law demanded but failed to procure was made possible and easy by grace. . . . It had been an unspeakable blessing to me to be delivered from the guilt of my sin, but it was infinitely more glorious to be delivered from its power. For to me the consequences of sin are not so dreadful as the fact of sin itself.” By the “fact of sin,” however, she means merely the fact of sinning: it is from the power of sin, not from the corruption of sin, that she so yearns to be

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<sup>53</sup> *Every-Day Religion*, 1893, p. 170.

<sup>54</sup> *Account, etc.*, p. 66 f.



delivered. Accordingly she goes on to express herself thus: "The same grace that saved us must keep us. The same Saviour who bore our guilt for us must do our daily work for us also."

It is "our daily work" that she has particularly in mind. Her preoccupation is with Christianity as a This-world religion, that is to say, in contrast both with an Other-world and a Next-world religion;<sup>55</sup> and this preoccupation supplies the major-premise of all her argumentation. "Did Christ propose to Himself," she exclaims,<sup>56</sup> "only this partial deliverance," which we have as yet experienced? "Was there a hidden reserve in each promise, that was meant to deprive it of its complete fulfilment?" Is a deliverance only partial, we ask, however, because it consumes time? Are promises deprived of their complete fulfilment because they are not fulfilled completely before the time of their complete fulfilment arrives? Mrs. Smith is only endeavoring to excite in the minds of her readers a feeling that they must have all that is promised them at once, or else the promise has failed. She wishes to betray them into an unwillingness to await the day of redemption and meanwhile to rejoice in the earnest of the inheritance that has been given to them. She wishes them to demand, like greedy children, all the feast prepared for them in the first course; and so she exhorts them to "settle down on this one thing, that Jesus came to save you, now, in this life, from the power and dominion of sin, and to make you more than conquerors through His power." For proof, she can only say that "not a hint is given anywhere that this deliverance has to be only the limited and partial one with which Christians so often try to be satisfied?" As if anybody supposes that! It is

<sup>55</sup> This also was no doubt a result of her Quaker training. Speaking of her girlhood, she writes (*My Spiritual Autobiography*, p. 153): "The Quakers rarely touched on the future life in any way, either as regarded heaven or hell. Their one concern was as to the life of God in the soul of man now and here, and they believed that when this was realized and lived the future could be safely left in the Divine care." Preoccupation with the present was therefore natural to her.

<sup>56</sup> *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life*, pp. 17f.

the good side of the Higher Life agitators that they manifest an active impatience with sinning. They revolt under and resent its bondage. It is a different matter to show impatience with God. And their reasoning too often runs on no other lines than these—if they are redeemed by the blood of Christ they have a right to all its fruits, and they wish them at once. They ask, "Is not Christ able to save to the uttermost?" and demand, "Why, then, does He not do it?" They are not willing to wait on God, and, unable to account for His method of saving by process, they chafe under the delay and require all their inheritance at once. This is the underlying attitude of the whole movement, and it is as manifest as anywhere else in the opening chapters of *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life*. All the Biblical assurances of the completeness of Christ's salvation are assembled, and then the demand made, Give me all of it—now. Mrs. Smith very properly explains that the whole work of our perfecting is done by God. Our part, she says, is only trusting it to Him that it may be done. Perhaps this is not precisely the same as trusting God to do it. We must not entrust it to God to be done, as we assign a job to a workman and require him to do it according to specifications. We must just trust God to do it—it, as all other things—in His own perfect way. The former attitude makes God our instrument to do our bidding. It is the attitude of the Higher Life movement.

There are two parts in "the work of sanctification," Mrs. Smith teaches. There is man's part; and there is God's part. It is man's part to place himself in God's hands for sanctification; it is God's part then to sanctify him. We say "then" to sanctify him, for God can do nothing towards sanctifying him until the man places himself in His hands for the purpose. "In the divine order," says Mrs. Smith,<sup>57</sup> "God's working depends upon our coöperation. Of our Lord it was declared that at a certain place He could do there no mighty work because of their unbelief. It was

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<sup>57</sup> *The Christian's Secret, etc.*, p. 36.

not that He would not, but He could not. I believe that we often think of God that He will not, when the real trouble is that He cannot. Just as the potter, however skilful, cannot make a beautiful vessel out of a lump of clay that is never put into his hands, so neither can God make out of me a vessel unto His honor unless I put myself into His hands. My part is the essential correlation [she means "correlative"] of God's part in the matter of my salvation; and as God is *sure* to do His part all right, the vital thing for me is to find out about my part, and then to do it." It is creditable to Mrs. Smith's intelligence that she fully recognizes that, things being as she describes them, the vital thing in our salvation is our part in it, not God's. The initiative—the decisive thing—lies in our hands: if we do our part God's part follows of itself. "When a soul is really given up to God He never fails to take possession of it, and He then begins to work on that soul all the good pleasure of His will"—not before. "It is like making the junction between the machinery and the steam engine," we are told.<sup>58</sup> "The machinery is yielded up to the power of the engine, and the engine works it, and it goes easily and without effort because of the mighty power of the engine." "Thus," we read, "the Christian life becomes an easy and natural life when it is the outward development of the Divine life working within. When we give ourselves to Him, He claims us, and this is where our safety lies—not in our giving, but in His taking. What we have to do is to put our will right over on His side, and then He will take possession of it, and work it for us, making us really willing to do His will." We must first, by an act of will, give Him our will, and then—but only then—He works our will for us. "And if God thus gets possession of us," we read next,—“thus,” that is, by an act of our will giving Him our will—“and causes us to walk in His statutes and to keep His commandments and do them, we shall find it an easy and happy thing to live in conformity with His will.” “He works miracles in man’s

<sup>58</sup> *Account of the Oxford Union Meeting*, p. 291.

will," we read in another place,—“when it is put in His hands.”

The primary thing to observe here is, of course, the suspension of the whole process on the human will. We say “the whole process” because it emerges that not only is God helpless to work on and in us unless and until we truly place ourselves in His hands for the purpose, but He is equally helpless to keep us in His hands when once He has undertaken the work on and in us that has been committed to Him. We must not only surrender ourselves to Him, but we must also “abide” in Him. Mrs. Smith told the ladies at the Oxford Union Meeting<sup>59</sup>—using the simile of the clay and the potter again—that “the part of the clay is simply to be put into the potter’s hands *and to abide there passively.*” “Put yourself into God’s hands,” is the exhortation, “as clay in the hands of the potter—and trust Him. But do not take yourselves back. Having given yourselves to Him you must abide in Him—you must stay there. You must let Him mould and fashion you.” Very strange clay this, passive in the potter’s hands, to which the potter can do nothing unless it lets him! Mrs. Smith’s main purpose here is to preach her gospel of passivity in the potter’s hands: “The potter must do all the work.” “When we have put our case in the Lord’s hands, our part is simply to ‘sit still,’ for He will not rest until He has finished the matter”; “and we must remember this—that if we carry a burden ourselves the Lord does not carry it.”<sup>60</sup> What we need to note now, however, is, not the passivity itself, but the fact that it is voluntary—not merely in the sense that we put ourselves in the potter’s hands voluntarily, but that we maintain our passive attitude in His hands voluntarily. Thus, as we have said, everything is made to depend, not on the Potter’s will, but on our own. And it is anything but a passive will that Mrs. Smith has in mind; she emphasizes the energy of the volition by which we place ourselves in

<sup>59</sup> *Account*, etc., p. 297.

God's hands in a very decisive fashion. Illustrating the right Christian method of meeting the troubles and trials of life from Ps. lv, 6-8, she tells us that we must not only *have* the wings of a dove, but must *use* them if we wish to escape. "The power to surrender and trust," she says,<sup>61</sup> exists in every human soul, and only needs to be brought into exercise." It belongs to us to bring it into exercise. "With these two wings we *can* flee to God at any moment, but in order really to reach Him we must actively use them. We must not merely want to use them, but we must *do* it definitively and actively. A passive surrender or a passive trust will not do—we must do it definitively and practically, about every detail as it comes up." Though we are passive in God's hands and do nothing to work out our own salvation—nothing, that is, directly—behind that passivity we are intensely active, instituting and maintaining it. We enter into the surrendered life by an act of our own will; it is a very definite and energetic act by which we abandon ourselves to God. On the emergence of each trial we again act; it is a very definite act by which we take it to God and leave it with Him. It is not a "passive" but an "active" surrender and trust, a very definite and decisive act. But this is all that we do—we must not endeavor to tunnel the mountains in our path, nor to make our way around them, we must just spread our wings and soar over them. The wings are the symbol of "surrender and trust"; they belong to us, and it belongs to us to use them.

Behind this teaching lies a very definite doctrine of the will. So important to her system does Mrs. Smith feel this doctrine to be, that she devotes a whole chapter to it, both in her *Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* and in her *Every-Day Religion*, her two most didactic volumes. In both chapters alike her chief purpose is to separate religion from the surface play of emotions. In order to do this, she makes religion an affair of the will alone, and asserts that the emotions have nothing to do with the will. You "yield" your-

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<sup>61</sup> *The Christian's Secret*, p. 243.



self to God, and that is the end of it. "You meant it then, you mean it now; you have really done it. Your emotions may clamor against the surrender, but your will must hold firm. It is your purpose God looks at, not your feelings about that purpose; and your purpose, or will, is therefore the only thing you need to attend to."<sup>62</sup> In writing-in a basis for such assertions she develops a clear psychological voluntativism. The will is affirmed to be "the governing power in man's nature." "If the will is set aright," we are told,<sup>63</sup> "all the rest of the nature must come into harmony." And by the will is meant here simple volition. "By the will," she explains<sup>64</sup> "I do not mean the wish of the man, or even his purpose, but the deliberate choice, the deciding power, the king, to which all that is in the man must yield obedience." "It is," she adds, "the man—in short, the 'Ego'—that which we feel to be ourselves." And then she expounds: "There is something within us, behind our emotions and behind our wishes, our independent self, that after all decides everything and controls everything." Of course Mrs. Smith meets difficulties here. As she works out her problem the notion of the will she operates with vibrates between bare volition and the total subjectivity. She is found identifying it with what the Bible calls "the heart," "the interior self, the controlling personality of our being."<sup>65</sup> She is found, despite the fact that the will is the king, to which all must yield obedience, speaking of a self behind the will, governing it. "I can control my will," she says; and we are exhorted "to keep the will steadily abiding in its centre, God's will." "Your part, then, is," she says,<sup>66</sup> "simply to put your will, in this matter of believing, over on God's side." What this "you" is which controls the will, which itself controls everything, and which is indeed itself the "Ego," she is helpless to explain. The will which is to

<sup>62</sup> *The Christian's Secret*, pp. 66 f.

<sup>63</sup> p. 80.

<sup>64</sup> p. 80.

<sup>65</sup> *Every-Day Religion*, p. 69.

<sup>66</sup> *The Christian's Secret*, pp. 81 f.



control is the very will that is to be controlled. Mrs. Smith has no option here, of course; she must speak in this confusing way if she is to make—as she wishes to make—a bald volition possible to man and controlling in his destiny. "I can choose to believe in that *bald* way," she affirms, "when nothing seems true to me." She merely finds herself moving upward in that infinite *regressus* up which all the advocates of her notion of a determining will, itself undetermined, journey with no hope of a return. All that concerns us at the moment is to note that Mrs. Smith's whole doctrine of the Higher Christian Life is founded on this doctrine of the will. Its starting point lies in the assumption that it is always in our power just to say "I will." "The thing that we are to do is just to 'choose,' without any regard to the state of our emotions, what attitude we shall take towards God." "The whole question lies in the choice of our will."<sup>67</sup>

The "surrender" and "trust" which "constitute our part" in "the work of sanctification," and which are the precedent conditions of God undertaking His part, are, then, always in our power. Precisely what they are is not made quite so plain. They are sometimes elaborately treated, not as two names for one thing or two aspects of a single act, but two distinct acts;<sup>68</sup> and we are told that we must have both "an entire surrender" and "an absolute trust." Difficulty is experienced, however, in so defining them as to establish a plain distinction. In the effort to do so "surrender" is sometimes spoken of as if it meant merely "giving up" in the abstract—not giving up ourselves trustingly to God, but just accepting the course of life that comes to us. "Trust" then becomes the word for leaving ourselves in God's keeping. At other times the attempt to separate the two things, at least, is abandoned. In the discussion in *Every-Day Religion*,<sup>69</sup> Mrs. Smith tells us that she prefers the term "yield" to "consecrate," to express what she means by "sur-

<sup>67</sup> *Every-Day Religion*, p. 79.

<sup>68</sup> *The Christian's Secret*, p. 246 ff.

<sup>69</sup> pp. 36 ff.

render." "Consecration" is apt, she says, "to express something too active, and indeed self-glorifying; it is an Old Testament word. We may consecrate our wealth to a given object; we yield ourselves to the care of a physician." "In the one case we confer a favor; in the other we receive a favor." The idea sought to be conveyed is not that of sacrificing, but of abandoning. We yield ourselves to God as, when sick, we submit utterly to the nurse's ministrations, or, when lost, we put ourselves wholly in the hands of the guide. "To yield to God means to belong to God, and to belong to God means to have all His infinite power and infinite love engaged on our side." "Trusting," now, she very naturally adds<sup>70</sup> "can hardly be said to be distinct from yielding. . . . It is, in fact, the absolute correlation [she means "correlative"] to it. . . . Trusting, therefore, simply means that when we have yielded ourselves up unto the Lord, or, in other words, have made ourselves over to Him, we then have perfect confidence that He will manage us and everything concerning us exactly right, and we can quietly leave the whole case and managing in His hands." So far as a distinction is here made out, it would seem to be that "surrender" is thought of as the act by which we place ourselves in God's hands, and "trust" as the succeeding state of confidence in His holy keeping of us. The point of importance, however, is not the discrimination of the words, but the establishment of the nature of the transaction which is expressed by them. This is made very clear. It is made very clear, for example, in this declaration: "You have first to surrender your will into His hands—and by your will I mean your liberty of choice—and He will take possession of it and work in you by His own mighty power 'to will and to do of His good pleasure.'"<sup>71</sup> Having vindicated to us an

<sup>70</sup> p. 40.

<sup>71</sup> One of the most remarkable things in this passage is the use of Phil. ii, 13 in it. Henry A. Boardman, in his excellent examination of *The "Higher Life" Doctrine of Sanctification*, 1877, pp. 143 ff., animadverts on the violence done to this text by Mr. Smith in such passages as these: "Is not the promise worthy of confidence, that

ineradicable power of willing according to our own choice, Mrs. Smith now lays on us as our one duty in the use of this liberty of choice—to renounce it. The only use the religious man can put his will to is, by an energetic action of it, to work a complete exinanition of it.

Our part in sanctification—"surrender" and "trust"—having been duly done, God then does His part. His part is "to sanctify us." The effect is, of course, instantaneous. As precisely what has happened is that we have ceased to work and God has taken over the work, what results is that hereafter we do nothing and God does all. This is a doctrine of Quietistic Perfectionism. Mrs. Smith's Quietism is very explicit and very complete. No simile is too strong to express it. As we have had repeated occasion to note, a favorite illustration with her is derived from the clay and the potter. By our act of surrender we put the clay into the potter's hands. He moulds it then according to His will. She expresses what happens without figure by saying as repeatedly that God takes our wills and works them for us.<sup>72</sup> He takes our wills, not our hearts or natures. The perfection that results, therefore, is a perfection of acts, not of heart or of nature. We put our wills into His hands, and He thenceforth works them for us. No, not exactly thence-

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God will work in us to will and to do of His good pleasure; and if He does this, shall we not have to cease from working ourselves?"—"God worketh in you to will and to do; therefore cease working." The Apostle says God worketh in you, therefore work. Mr. Smith says, God worketh in you, therefore cease working. Mrs. Smith, in some of her allusions at least, has learned to avoid this gross wresting of the text, though at the cost of a great inconsistency. "When we have surrendered the working of our wills to God," she says in *Every-Day Religion*, 1893, p. 76, "and are letting Him work in us to will and to do of His good pleasure, we are then called upon to 'set our faces like a flint' to carry out His will, and must respond with an emphatic 'I will' to every 'Thou shalt' of His." The inconsistency of this with her Quietism is glaring. And the wresting of Paul in suspending God's working on our working instead of *vice versa* remains unaffected. Compare also pp. 72 and 80.

<sup>72</sup> For example, *The Christian's Secret*, p. 190: "God's way of working is to get possession of the inside of a man, to take the control and management of his will, and to work it for him."

forth, but as long as we leave them in His hands. It all depends on us, in the end, therefore; and that throws a fatal uncertainty over it all. At least, that is the way Mrs. Smith looks at it, from the point of view of her doctrine of arbitrary will. From our own point of view, as the heart remains unsanctified, we should have to say that it throws a fatal certainty of sinning over it all. "No safe teacher of this interior life," says she,<sup>73</sup> ever says that it becomes impossible to sin; they only insist that sin ceases to be a necessity and that a possibility of continual victory is opened before us."

The next sentence is somewhat oddly phrased. "And there are very few, if any, who do not confess that, as to their own actual experience, they have at times been overcome by at least a momentary temptation." Mrs. Smith scarcely means that it was a "momentary temptation" which overcame them: there seems no reason why a temptation which lasts but a moment should be thought to be particularly potent, and "momentary" does not appear to mean "sudden"—unexpected—and therefore unprepared for. She doubtless means that they are momentarily overcome by temptation. If so, she tells us that "few, if any," make "the possibility of continual victory" which is "opened before us" an actuality. "At times"—which must mean a plurality of times—they are at least momentarily overcome by temptation. If this be true, then their perfection is not very perfect: it is broken in upon "at times" by sin. They may be rather better in their Christian lives than the general run of Christians, but when it comes to talking of perfection they are really no more perfect than others. This is given an even stronger significance by the next sentence. "Of course," we read, "in speaking of sin here, I mean conscious, known sin." She is not speaking of "sins of ignorance," or of "what is called the inevitable sin of our nature." These things she leaves to the theologians to discuss; she deals only in practical things—a rather cavalier

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<sup>73</sup> *The Christian's Secret*, 128.

way of speaking, one would think, of such tremendous realities. From this we learn, however, that the sins which she considers it possible to escape are only "conscious, known sins," and also that the sins which "few, if any," wholly escape falling into "at times"—fewer or more numerous times—are distinctively "conscious, known sins." Despite her waving aside all discussion of "sins of ignorance," she immediately enters into a discussion of them, the result of which seems to be that we can do very wrong things and not sin. Returning from this digression, she instructs us, not very consequently, that, as "the highway of holiness is not a *place* but a *way*, we may step out of the path for a moment without obliterating the path, and we may step back into the path the next moment." It is not clear to us that a "path" has any superiority over a "place" in these matters, but, as the application is obscure, that may pass. The trouble does not seem to be with the path or the place—whichever "the highway of holiness" may be compared to—but with the bad habit of stepping out of it with the assurance that we can just as easily step back again. We have certainly lost sight of perfection in the course of the discussion, except, perhaps, as a bare possibility, a possibility of which "few, if any," avail themselves. Nevertheless Mrs. Smith has no hesitation in asserting the possibility of continuous holiness, as if it were the experience of many and might easily be the experience of all. Of actually sinning she says,<sup>74</sup> "There is no necessity for it whatever."

Perhaps the most remarkable element in Mrs. Smith's teaching in this matter, however, comes to light when<sup>75</sup> she undertakes to expound the "causes of failure in the full life of salvation," that is to say, to explain why those that are perfect fall at times into sin. "The causes do not lie," she says, "in the strength of the temptation, nor in our own weakness, nor, above all in any lack in the power or willing-

<sup>74</sup> p. 142; cf. p. 242.

<sup>75</sup> p. 138 f.



ness of our Saviour to save us." They lie simply in this: that we are cherishing in our heart something which is contrary to the will of God. That appears to amount, briefly, to this—that the perfect man sins because he is not perfect. She illustrates as follows: "Any conscious root of bitterness cherished towards another, any self-seeking, any harsh judgments, any slackness in obeying the voice of the Lord, any doubtful habits and surroundings—these things, or any of them, consciously indulged, will effectively cripple and paralyze our spiritual life." Which, being interpreted, declares to us that if we are living in sins—conscious sins, too, note—"any conscious root of bitterness," "consciously indulged"—why, we are liable to sin. And we are further told that we may be thus living in sin, though we seem to ourselves and to others to be triumphantly living the life of victory. What then becomes of consciousness as the norm of all?

It is not without its importance that we should note that Mrs. Smith is inclined sometimes to represent this liability to failure as an experience belonging particularly to the early stages of sanctification. She writes to her son, when he had just entered upon the "higher life" of complete consecration, that it cannot be expected to be wholly unbroken. "It often happens," she says, "in the beginning of this life of faith, that there are temporary failures, and that the feet do sometimes stumble. But this need not discourage thee. Sanctification is not a thing once done, and done for ever; it is a life, a walk, and if we stumble we can get up again. It is a life of trust, moment by moment; and if for one moment we fail, that is no reason why we should not trust the next moment." It even appears that in the process of growth hinted at here the sanctification may penetrate inward from the acts to the heart. This is, no doubt, formally denied in the most vigorous words. She writes to her son in the autumn of 1871<sup>76</sup>, and prints it in 1873, on the very verge of the great London agitation: "But do not expect,

<sup>76</sup> *The Record of a Happy Life*, 1873, p. 119.



dear boy, ever to find thy old nature any better or any nearer thy ideal; for thee never, never will. Thee thyself, that is, thy old nature, will always be utterly vile and ignorant, and corrupt; but Jesus is thy life now. It is with thee, 'No more I, but Christ who liveth in thee.' And is not this glorious—to lose thy own life, and find Christ's divine life put in its place? . . . Never look into thy own heart, then, for any sort of satisfaction or comfort. Thee will never find any goodness there, no stocks of virtue laid up to draw upon. But thy goodness is all *in Christ*, and thee must draw it from Him moment by moment as thee needs it." The very spirit of the Higher Christian Life speaks here; and it teaches us that the sanctification received by faith does not eradicate the sinful nature: we retain the old nature of sin, apparently completely unaffected. All our sanctification is "in Christ," external to our self, and is drawn upon only for our daily need "moment by moment," that is to say, for our conduct solely, since it does not affect our nature. Despite these strong words, however, Mrs. Smith teaches<sup>77</sup> that the heart itself is purified by Christ's indwelling. Following a lead from her son, she represents that we may not merely be delivered when we trust, but may be kept continually trusting; and more than that—that that traitor in the camp, inbred sin, may be ousted.

"In order to know a complete and continuous victory," she says, "this inward enemy must be cast out and the heart cleansed from all unrighteousness. Then, the very centre of the being having been taken possession of by Christ, and all His enemies destroyed by His presence, He reigns there supreme. And the soul finds itself 'kept by the power of God,' through an unwavering faith, which nothing jostles or dims." On this teaching a doctrine of perfection, not of act but of nature, and with it a doctrine of perseverance, might be based. Mrs. Smith justifies herself in it by adding that "this wonderful truth is taught in many ways, and under many different figures in the New Testament. Being

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<sup>77</sup> pp. 148 f.

'dead to sin,' knowing 'the body of sin to be destroyed,' 'purifying our hearts by faith,' being 'cleansed from all unrighteousness,' all these and many other expressions set forth this truth, that Christ, who was manifested to destroy the works of the devil, is able and willing to destroy his very worst work—even that which he wrought in us when he implanted sin in our nature—and that where Christ enters there sin must retire." Surely it is sufficiently clearly taught here that the old nature is not left untouched by the salvation of Christ. Indeed, it is even taught that Christ expels sin from our very nature, and that can mean nothing less than that we no longer have even indwelling sin, and that, in turn, can mean nothing less than the Wesleyan "entire sanctification," "Christian Perfection." "But," adds Mrs. Smith, seeking to guard herself, "but let it be understood that it is only the presence of Christ that keeps out the sin. There is no inherent purity in the heart itself. But as with light and darkness, so with Christ and sin—they cannot exist together; there is no possibility of fellowship between them. Let a room, however, presume on the light, and shut out the rays of the sun, and darkness at once fills it. So let the soul presume on its purity and cease to let Christ abide in it, and that moment sin reigns there again supreme. The indwelling presence of Christ makes the heart pure and keeps it pure. The indwelling presence of Christ drives out His enemies and keeps them out. The indwelling presence of Christ destroys (or 'renders inert') the body of sin, and keeps it so; but the moment the soul lets go of Christ, or turns its eyes away from Him, that moment its old evil all returns."

It is evident that Mrs. Smith is here at her wit's end. She is trying to teach at once that our old nature is expelled by Christ and that it is not expelled; that Christ keeps us permanently, and that His keeping is only moment by moment; that our abiding in our grace rests on Christ alone, and that it depends absolutely on ourselves. It is an impossible task. She says that implanted sin is itself cast out; that Christ entering the heart expels sin from it;

that there cannot be the least remnant of sin left where Christ dwells. The indwelling Christ not only makes the heart pure but keeps it pure; not only drives out His enemies but keeps them out. He destroys—but here she falters, and suggests that we may say only "renders inert"—the body of sin and keeps it destroyed. But she cannot leave it at that, although she has said it so strongly and with such variety of expression that she must leave it at that. She talks of there being no inherent purity in the heart itself—as if a heart that is pure can be pure any other way than "inherently." What she means is that it owes its purity to Christ, who dwells in it. But that makes no difference—if Christ dwells in it, and by dwelling in it "makes the heart pure and keeps it pure." Underneath all this lies the assumption that we can put Christ out of our hearts again: "The moment the soul lets go of Christ, or turns its eyes away from Him, that moment the old evil all returns." The mind reels as it tries to imagine how this can be—if, for example, Christ not only "drives out His enemies," but "keeps them out." The cart is surely put before the horse. Surely we cannot "let go of Christ," "turn our eyes away from Him," unless the old evil has already returned. A pure heart—and we are told that Christ has made the heart pure and keeps it pure—cannot do these things. And this old evil, all of which returns, where has it been all the intervening time? If it had only been "made inert," it might perhaps be revived; but that is not what the Apostle says, nor what Mrs. Smith says—both he and she say it has been "destroyed"—and she adds that Christ keeps it destroyed. Surely it cannot come back. We cannot both be kept by Christ and not kept by him; we cannot be made pure and kept pure and not be pure. Mrs. Smith is laboring with the fundamental contradiction of her school; she wishes to teach a supernatural salvation on the basis of a fundamental naturalism. She cannot do it.

Ordinarily when Mrs. Smith speaks of progress in sanctification her preoccupation is merely to reconcile the imme-

mediate attainment of sanctification by faith and the possibility nevertheless of growth in holiness. On our part, she teaches, sanctification is secured by an act, the entrusting of ourselves to God; from the moment that we entrust ourselves to God we are holy—God sees to that. But on God's part, sanctification is produced in us by a process; God leads us up to ever higher planes in our holiness. "Sanctification," she says,<sup>78</sup> "is both a step of faith and a process of works; it is a step of surrender and trust on our part, and it is a process of development on God's part. By a step of faith we get into Christ; by a process we are made to 'grow up into Him in all things.' By a step of faith we put ourselves into the hands of the Divine Father; by a gradual process He makes us into a vessel unto His own honor, meet for His use, and prepared to every good work." So far as the mere words go, the truth of the matter is stated here. But Mrs. Smith's meaning is not apprehended until we understand that she conceives man to be purely passive as the clay in the hands of the potter in the whole process, and that she conceives the growth which he experiences not to be towards perfection but in perfection. She speaks, indeed,<sup>79</sup> of God "carrying us through a process of transformation, longer or shorter, as our peculiar case may require, making actual and experimental the results for which we have trusted." And if this were given true validity it might serve largely to correct the faults adverted to. After all said, it certainly is God who sanctifies us: we are the clay in His hands, and He moulds us as seems to Him good. And the process of transformation wrought out in our sanctification does only actualize in us what from the beginning we have trusted Christ for; it is a "working out" of our salvation. But to say this would not satisfy Mrs. Smith. She asserts that "purity of heart" is complete from the very first moment of our believing,<sup>80</sup> and that:

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<sup>78</sup> *The Christian's Secret*, p. 20.

<sup>79</sup> p. 80.

<sup>80</sup> *The Christian's Secret*, p. 34.

all our subsequent growth is in, not into, purity of heart. We are "truly pleasing to God" in every stage of our growth, though "it may require long years of training and discipline to mature us into a vessel which shall be in all respects to His honor and fitted to every good work."<sup>81</sup> "The lump of clay, from the moment it comes under the transforming hand of the potter, is, during each day and each hour of the process, just what the potter wants it to be at that hour or on that day, and therefore pleases him, but it is very far from being matured into the vessel he intends in the future to make it. The little babe may be all that a babe could be, or ought to be, and may therefore perfectly please its mother, and yet it is very far from being what that mother would wish it to be when the years of maturity shall come. The apple in June is a perfect apple for June; it is the best apple that June can produce; but it is a very different apple in October, when it is a perfected apple. God's works are perfect in every stage of their growth; man's works are never perfect until they are in every respect complete."<sup>82</sup>

It could not be more strongly declared that the whole process of "sanctification," so far as it is a process, is the growth merely into greater maturity of a person already from the beginning free from sin. It is a process not towards purity, but in purity towards maturity. In point of fact, however, this process is, on one side of it, a process of progressive freeing from sin. The human "apple in June" is not merely an immature apple, it is a rotten apple. It does not merely need "to grow" in order to become the "perfected" apple of October, it has got to be remade before it becomes the perfect apple for June and is in a state to "grow" at all. Mrs. Smith cannot explain away the re-creative process of sanctification by confusing the ideas of imperfection and immaturity; this "imperfection" is not a merely negative but a most positive quality. She says, very

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<sup>81</sup> p. 35.

<sup>82</sup> p. 34.



smartly,<sup>83</sup> that the Scriptures do not teach that we are to grow *into* grace but *in* grace. But to be "in grace" does not mean in Scripture that we are already free from sin, nor—it is time now to add—does the exhortation to "increase in grace" (2 Pet. iii, 18) mean that we have no part in making the increase. It is, nevertheless, specifically to an attitude of passivity with respect to our growth that Mrs. Smith exhorts us. "Let me entreat of you, then," she says<sup>84</sup> "to give up all your efforts after growing and simply to *let* yourselves grow." That is her fundamental prescription for the Christian life, "a growth without effort."<sup>85</sup> The lilies, she says, planted in good soil, do not strive to grow: their growing "is not a thing of effort, but is the result of an inward life-principle of growth." "All the stretching and pulling in the world could not make a dead oak grow, but a live oak grows without stretching." What we are to do, then, is merely "to get within us the growing life." More at large:<sup>86</sup> "We are to be infinitely passive, and yet infinitively active also—passive as regards self and its workings, active as regards attention and response to God." Which is explained to mean that "we must lay down all the activity of the creature as such, and must let only the activities of God work in us, and through us, and by us." The fundamental meaning is that our only work is to get into Christ: He does the rest.

Of course Mrs. Smith finds herself in difficulties with the Scriptures here, and perhaps she could not have lighted upon a passage that would give her more difficulty in squaring her Quietism with the Scriptures than 2 Pet. iii, 18, with which she particularly concerns herself. Precisely what Peter does in this passage is to require Christians to engage actively in advancing in their life of faith. It is not enough for him that we plant ourselves in the garden of the

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<sup>83</sup> p. 173.

<sup>84</sup> p. 181.

<sup>85</sup> p. 181.

<sup>86</sup> p. 179.



Lord—and let God give the increase. Precisely what he says we are to do is "to exert ourselves" (verse 14, cf. 1-10, 15), and to exert ourselves precisely that we may be found on the great day of judgment "unsullied and faultless" in His sight. To that extent we are engaged in our own sanctification, and to that end we are (among other things) "to take care"—to take care that we are not carried away by errors, and so fall from "our own" steadfastness ("our own," notice); on the contrary, we are to "make increase" in grace, and the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, this "making increase" being put in contrast with the "taking care" not to fall, as the other half of our duty. There is no Quietism here; and Peter says he is teaching just what Paul teaches. In contrast to both Peter and Paul Mrs. Smith says we are neither to exert ourselves nor to make increase in grace. We are in grace already and all our growth is to be within the grace we are in, and it is to be accomplished without any effort on our part.

This, then, is the teaching of the Higher Life agitation which filled with its propaganda the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It is not a very profound teaching, and its tendency was downwards. It was more shallow in the hands of its later than in those of its earlier advocates. Perfectionism is impossible in the presence of a deep sense or a profound conception of sin. This movement proclaimed, it is true, only an attenuated Perfectionism—a perfectionism merely of conduct. But this involved a correspondingly attenuated view of sin. The guilt of sin, the corruption of sin, were not denied, but attention was distracted from them and fixed on the practice of sin. This is a fatally externalizing movement of thought, and brings with it a ruinous under-estimate of the baneful power of sin. This effect was re-enforced by an extreme limitation of the notion of sinning. Nothing was recognized as sinning but deliberate sinning. Ignorance or inadvertence was

made the mother of holiness, and holiness was thus brought to so low a level that the meanest in Christian attainments might easily lay claim to its possession. Corresponding to this defective outlook on sin and holiness was an equally defective attitude towards God and His relation to men. None of the high attributes of God were denied, but the practical effect of the teaching was to encourage men to look upon Him as a force existing for them and wholly at their command. This degrading conception of God was not given, it is true, so crass an expression as it has received in some later developments of the same type of thought. Mrs. Smith even includes in her chief book<sup>87</sup> a chapter bearing the title "Is God in Everything?" in which she is fairly compelled to teach, in the mere interest of the life of faith, the fundamental fact of the universal government of God. Nevertheless, the open teaching of the whole movement is to the effect that God acts—and can act—in the matter of sanctification, as in the whole matter of salvation, only as man, by his prior action, releases Him for action. This is not a wholesome attitude to take towards God. It tends to looking upon Him as the instrument which we use to secure our ends, and that is a magical rather than a religious attitude. In the end it inhibits religion which includes in its essence a sense of complete dependence on God.

With these defects in its outlook on God and sin, the movement naturally fostered a thin religious life. The deep things are not for it. Throes of repentance, ecstasies of aspiration, alike, are rendered unnecessary and unbecoming. Christian living is reduced to the level of common respectability. The law of God having been pushed out of sight His grace becomes obscured with it. The *summum bonum* becomes ease in Zion, and God, as He is no longer greatly feared, neither is any longer greatly loved. Nor is He trusted. Our dependence is put in our own trust, not in God, and as arrant a work-salvation results as was ever taught. The works depended upon are concentrated into the

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<sup>87</sup> *The Christian's Secret*, Part II, chap. XII.

specific work of trust; but all is hung on this specific work. This is a gravely unethical proceeding. Pelagius, when he hung salvation on works, at least demanded perfect righteousness as its ground. In this teaching perfect righteousness is dispensed with, and the trust in favor of which it is dispensed with disappears with it. The type of piety engendered by the preaching of a conditional salvation is naturally in polar opposition to that engendered by the preaching of a free salvation. The correlate to a free salvation is trust; the correlate to a conditional salvation is performance. Trust and performance are contradictions. A "Do" religion and a "Trust" religion are irreconcilable. To demand trust as a condition defeats, therefore, its own object and renders the trust demanded impossible. If we are to depend on our own trust it ceases to be trust. We cannot look to ourselves for the decisive act in our salvation and at the same time be looking to God for all. Trust transformed into a work loses its quality; turned back on itself, it is obliterated.

Nevertheless, despite its leanness, the movement has persisted in its influence down to our own times. In Britain, on the European Continent, in America, its echoes are still heard. Mrs. Smith herself, at the opening of the new century no doubt, looked back on it as in some sense a thing of the past<sup>88</sup>; but that was only relatively the case. We do not so quickly escape from low levels of thought and feeling. It is sadly true in spiritual as in earthly things that the poor are always with us. It is matter of congratulation that the two great movements which arose, Phoenix-like, from the ashes of the violent "Higher Life" agitation of the seventies—"The Keswick Movement" in Britain, and the "Heiligungsbewegung" in Germany,—while very greatly extending the influence of its essential teaching, have, although in different degrees, mitigated some of its most objectionable features. If, however, we have a right-wing, we have also a left-wing, of Keswick teaching; and if

<sup>88</sup> See J. B. Figgis, *Keswick from Within*, 1914, p. vii.

there has been a Theodor Jellinghaus in Germany, there has also been a "Pastor" Paul. Outside the main currents of these two great movements, individual preachers of the Higher Life also are, of course, continually appearing. Among these, Albert B. Simpson attracts perhaps primary attention, not less for the extravagance of his theories than for the wideness of the influence he has exerted through his long career.<sup>89</sup> In the closing years of the last century the unwholesome figure of "the Tamil Evangelist," V. D. David drew temporary notice to itself and then passed under a cloud.<sup>90</sup> On the other hand, James H. McConkey's little book, entitled *The Threefold Secret of the Holy Spirit* (1897), pleases by the sobriety of its spirit, although certainly, in the main, running true to type.<sup>91</sup> By the side of

<sup>89</sup> Among his relevant writings are: *The Christ Life; Walking in the Spirit; Life More Abundantly; Himself*, an address delivered at Bethshan, London, (1885); *Tracts for the Times, Deeper Life Series*. Compare *The Princeton Theological Review* for July, 1918, pp. 358 ff. and *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, X, p. 430.

<sup>90</sup> The titles of some of his tracts are: *Scriptural Heart Cleansing; Practical and Scriptural Holiness; Have You Perfect Peace?; Are You a Pentacostal Christian?; Solution of Many Difficulties; How to Know the Voice of Christ; Is this Your Photograph?; Have You the Holy Ghost?* They were published by "The Church Press," Chicago.

<sup>91</sup> James H. McConkey, *The Three-fold Secret of the Holy Spirit*, 2nd ed., 1897, pp. 128. Mr. McConkey writes on the general presupposition of the Arminian scheme of salvation. He looks upon Repentance and Faith, conceived as two separate acts, as the proper conditions of salvation. He even speaks of our "yielding" to the Spirit "for Regeneration," and in general as if our "yielding" were always the precedent condition of the Spirit's working. He teaches that there are two distinct and separate stages of salvation. On Repentance and Faith we enter into life, are united with Christ, and "receive the indwelling Spirit." Then on "yielding," or, more technically "surrendering," our life to God we "receive the fulness of the Spirit." Usually there is an actual interval between the two; *logically* such an interval is presupposed and the appeal of the Scriptures for the second is grounded on the assumption that the first has taken place; but *actually* the two steps *may* take place chronologically together, or with so short an interval between that it is unnoted. "In the order of thought conversion must of necessity precede consecration." But the interval should not be prolonged. "The flesh still abides in the believer," though he "need not walk in it." "Jesus Christ does not so much im-

Mr. McConkey we may perhaps be permitted to place such teachers as Mathew H. Houston, who have not escaped direct influence from Keswick.<sup>92</sup> From Wesley to Keswick may superficially seem a somewhat far cry. There is, no doubt, room between these limits for many distinguishable varieties of teaching. They are all bound together, however, by common fundamental conceptions of very dubious character, and it is too much to hope that we have seen the last of any one of them. Recent events only emphasize the fact that it is not merely the fittest among them which promise to survive.<sup>93</sup>

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*part* life as He *inbrings* it"; and so "the believer has no spiritual life in himself, apart from Christ Jesus." The old man is not to be amended but put off—as if the old man is not put off precisely by being amended.—Of course, the new spiritual life which is imparted is not "independent of Christ," or "apart from Christ." It will not do to represent the believer, however, as left dead: he is made alive in Christ—and it is *he* that is made alive. It is not only that he has Christ in him and Christ is living, but it is he himself that is living, for Christ has made him alive; yes, he has life in himself (John vi, 53). It is not true that "the believer is portrayed as a man in himself spiritually dead, indwelt through the Spirit by Jesus Christ, who is his spiritual life" (p. 98). He is portrayed as a man who is spiritually alive, in whom Jesus Christ the source of all his life, dwells by His Spirit. The man himself is saved, and his new holiness is *his* holiness. It is a grave error to suppose that the living Christ can dwell within us without imparting life to us. He *quickens* whom He will; and he whom He quickens, lives.—It is pleasant to observe that, in spite of his fundamental Arminianism, Mr. McConkey believes in "Perseverance."

<sup>92</sup> M. H. Houston, *Dr. Strickler on Perfectionism*, 1904, p. 21: "I am nothing; Christ is all; His life is brought to me by the Holy Spirit, and to be filled with the Spirit is to have the fullness of Christ. The Christ-life is obedience to all the commands of God, and the fullness of Christ is full, entire obedience to these commands. This is what is meant by the phrase, entire, or complete, sanctification" (p. 6).

<sup>93</sup> An admirable detailed criticism of the "Higher Life" teaching will be found in Henry A. Boardman, *The "Higher Life" Doctrine of Sanctification Tried by the Word of God*, 1877. It is also faithfully, though briefly, dealt with by John Charles Ryle, in the Introduction to his *Holiness: Its Nature, Hindrances, Difficulties, and Perils*, 1877;



second ed., 1879; often re-issued. Professor Thomas Smith in an article on "Means and Measure of Holiness," in *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for April, 1878, pp. 251 ff, gives an excellent discussion of it; and Lyman H. Atwater, in an article on "The Higher Life and Christian Perfection," in *The Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review* for July, 1877, pp. 389 ff. takes occasion from it to review the whole subject of Christian Perfection most helpfully. There is an able article in the *London Quarterly Review* for October, 1875, vol. xiv, pp. 85 ff., on "The Brighton Convention and Its Opponents" from the Wesleyan point of view, defending the "Higher-Life" teachers against their critics. From the heading of this article the titles of a number of the criticisms of the movement published in 1875 may be obtained. Valuable discussions are found also in Johannes Jüngst, *Amerikanischer Methodismus, und Robert Pearsall Smith*, 1875; Reiff-Hesse; *Die Oxford Bewegung und ihre Bedeutung für unsere Zeit*; G. Warneck, *Briefe über die Versammlung in Brighton*, 1876; Paul Fleisch, *Zur geschichte der Heiligungsbewegung*, 1910; H. Benser, *Das moderne Gemeinschaftschristentum*, 1910; Fr. Winkler, *Robert Pearsall Smith und der Perfectionismus*, ed. 2, 1915. Compare also Herman Bavinck, *Gereformeerde Dogmatiek*, Vol. IV, pp. 262 ff., and the literature there given.

## PRAYER.

The doctrine of prayer is beset with difficulties on every side. They press upon the most shallow thinker, they baffle the most profound. But that need not surprise us. Every great truth in science, in art, in philosophy, as well as in religion, starts questions that we cannot answer. Mystery is the mark of greatness. Our knowledge in every sphere is fragmentary. "We know in part" is the confession of the race. All things run out into mystery. The brighter the light, the denser does the darkness that encircles it appear. Sir William Hamilton has told us truly that no difficulty emerges in theology which has not previously emerged in philosophy. He who says he will believe nothing that he cannot understand does not even understand what he says.

The doctrine which now engages us is highly complex, for it involves the most intricate problems with which we are called to deal. Is there a personal God? If there is, what is His relation to the universe? Is He the master or the servant of nature? How is He related to the world in which we live? Has it a place in His thought, His purpose, or is it a mere point in the illimitable fields of space, too insignificant to catch the eye or fix the regard of the Almighty? What is His relation to man? Does He take thought of him? Is He kindly disposed toward him? Is He able and willing to reveal Himself to men, and help them in their hour of need?

The doctrine involves not only the being and the nature of God, but the nature and the character of man. Is he capable of knowing God, of communing with Him? Is there room for prayer in the course and conduct of his life? May he hope, through prayer, to win the favor and secure the help of God? The relation between God and man, what is it? Is there common ground on which they may meet? Is there reason to believe that if man speaks to God he shall be heard?

Obviously it is a far-reaching doctrine, and lies at the

very heart alike of theology and religion. Shall we wait to solve the problems involved in the philosophy of prayer before we pray? We do not pursue that course elsewhere. Never do we attempt to answer all the questions that spring out of our belief before we reduce it to practice. We constantly take advantage of laws and make use of forces of which we can give no adequate explanation. We know something of effects, little of causes; something of results, little of principles and processes. We act upon the truth we know, however imperfect it may be. We do not insist upon comprehending the law of gravitation, or the power of mind over matter, before we lift the foot. We take the step and let the explanation wait. Nor do we feel that we must take a course in electrical science before we press the button that floods the room with light. A host of men and women to-day, as in every age, find strength and comfort in prayer who have never attempted a solution of the philosophic problems which prayer presents. They have no philosophy of prayer, but they have rich experience of its power.

There are others to whom the difficulties that beset the doctrine are so real and serious as to hinder or forbid the practice of prayer; cripple their faith; come between the soul and God, and chill the spirit of devotion. It is important, therefore, to examine afresh from time to time the ground of our faith and inquire what warrant we have in Scripture, in reason, in experience for prayer.

In the large sense of the term prayer is the soul's converse with God. As Forsyth has well said, "Prayer of the serious, evangelical, unceasing sort is to faith what original research is for science—it is the grand means of contact with reality; it is the soul's fruitful contact with that which for the soul is nature—God in Christ." In our present study, however, we confine ourselves mainly to a single aspect of prayer, that is, petition. It is on this side that prayer is encompassed with the greatest difficulties and exposed to the gravest objections. We shall treat the theme not from the point of view of abstract philosophic thought,

but rather in the light of the general experience and common judgment of mankind. And the argument is addressed not to unbelievers, in the endeavor to vindicate upon rational grounds the Scripture doctrine of prayer, but to devout and earnest believers whose minds may be clouded at times with doubts of the value and efficacy of petitions offered to God. The purpose in view is simply to present certain considerations which may make it easier for a Christian to pray in fulness of faith.

Petition involves a host of assumptions; that there is a personal God; that He is well disposed toward men, and is able and willing to help them; that there is a way by which men may draw near to God and make known to Him their requests; that the universe is subject to His will; that the desires of man may affect the plans and purposes of God; that neither the course of nature nor His decree is so inflexible that there is in them no room for effectual prayer; that through prayer definite results may be accomplished in the sphere of matter and of spirit. These are tremendous assumptions. Are they warranted by Scripture? Can they be justified at the bar of reason? Are they confirmed by experience? Regarding the teaching of the Scripture there is no room for doubt. Prayer is not only permitted and encouraged, it is commanded. Is the injunction to pray irrational? There can be no intelligent faith that is contrary to reason. John Locke said that to decry reason in the interest of faith is like putting out the eyes in order to look through a telescope. The wise man applies the glass of faith to the eye of reason. We cannot believe what we know or suspect to be false, any more than we can at the same moment recognize that an object is black and believe that it is white. We must inquire, therefore, whether the doctrine of prayer presented in the Scripture is contrary to reason. Two main arguments are adduced to prove that it is.

I. It is presumptuous to pray. Who are we that we should presume to dictate, or even suggest, to the Almighty,

seeking to substitute our ignorant and selfish desires for His wise and holy will? Let us commit our interests entirely to Him, and present but one petition before His throne: Give what is best. To ask for specific blessings is to challenge His wisdom and distrust His care. Did not the Master tell us, "Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask Him?"

Emerson has given classic expression to this line of argument in his essay on Self-Reliance. "In what prayers do men allow themselves? That which they call a holy office is not so much as brave and manly. Prayer looks abroad and asks for some foreign addition to come through some foreign virtue, and loses itself in endless mazes of natural and supernatural, and mediatorial and miraculous. Prayer that craves a particular commodity—anything less than all good—is vicious. Prayer is the contemplation of the facts of life from the highest point of view. It is the soliloquy of a beholding and jubilant soul. It is the spirit of God pronouncing His works good. But prayer as a means to effect a private end is theft and meanness. It supposes dualism and not unity in nature and consciousness. As soon as the man is at one with God he will not beg. He will then see prayer in all action. The prayer of the farmer kneeling in his field to weed it, the prayer of the rower kneeling with the stroke of his oar, are true prayers heard throughout nature, though for cheap ends. . . . As men's prayers are a disease of the will, so are their creeds a disease of the intellect." Prayer in the form of petition for personal ends is presumptuous, impertinent, offensive.

The ready answer to this objection is the fact that God commands us to pray. It cannot be presumptuous or offensive to do what He bids us. Faith takes shelter in the commandment. And we must remember that the injunction to pray is not given us in Scripture alone, it is graven upon the hearts of men. Men pray with no other command than the pressure of their need. Man is incurably religious, and prayer is one of the forms in which religion always manifests itself.



Beyond this general consideration, there are particular reasons which justify the practice of prayer. We can see why God invites us to pray :

(1) He seeks to keep us near Himself, to make us conscious of our dependence upon Him. He would not have us receive the gifts of His bounty without recognizing the hand that bestows them. In the very act of asking for daily bread and daily grace the soul is drawn into communion with God, receives its portion from His hand with gratitude and praise. We cannot lose sight of the Giver in the gift, when we pray. Every blessing received is a bond to bind the soul to God.

(2) Through prayer we are prepared to receive the blessings that we seek. It is true, of course, that gifts of an outward sort, those that pertain to our physical needs, may be received and enjoyed in entire ignorance of the source from which they come. No special preparation of mind or heart may be necessary to partake of them. All men have a share in the bounties of Providence. "He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust." "He is kind unto the unthankful and the evil." Yet, even in the realm of physical wants it is often true that, unless the soul is prepared to receive and use the gifts of God worthily, they may prove a curse and not a blessing. "For every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be rejected, if it be received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified through the word of God and prayer." When the children of Israel cried for food in the wilderness, and murmured against Moses and against God, "He gave them their request, but sent leanness into their souls."

Those gifts which are bestowed upon the spirit, wisdom, and strength, and courage and grace, do not drop upon it from the clouds; they require the preparation of the spirit to receive them—the earnest desire, the determined purpose, the obedient will. It is the office of prayer, by bringing men into the immediate presence of God, to clarify the

understanding, to cleanse the affections, to quicken the conscience, to direct and enable the will. For blessings of this kind no passing desire or careless petition will suffice: earnest, repeated, persistent prayer is required, until the soul is chastened and made ready to receive the gift.

So obvious, indeed, is this, that we are often told that the whole energy of prayer is turned upon him who prays. Its power, its effect, terminate with him. Who rises from prayer a better man," says George Meredith, "his prayer is answered." That is a great truth, nobly expressed, but it is not the whole truth. God as well as man is moved by prayer.

An interesting line of inquiry is suggested here, that we can only touch in passing. How long would men continue to pray if they conceived of prayer simply as a means of self-improvement, a sort of spiritual gymnastic? How could a man offer petitions to God if he knew that his prayers ended with himself? And if he should cease to ask, and seek through prayer simply to enter into fellowship with God, how intimate would that fellowship become, how long would it endure, if there were no place in it for petition? Does not the practice of the presence of God inevitably include petition? Is it possible for needy man to come into the presence of the Almighty without seeking to have his wants supplied? Does not the coming together of urgent need and infinite supply inevitably inspire petition? Is it found that the more closely men walk with God the less they ask of Him? What light does experience throw upon the relation between communion with God and petition? These questions propose to us a historical and psychological study of marked interest and importance upon which we cannot enter.

II. We are told that it is idle to pray. Science has demonstrated that the universe is governed by general laws, rigid and absolute. God has so ordered the course of nature that it may accomplish His holy will. The laws by which matter and spirit are controlled are the expression

of His eternal purpose. As well may we hope to overturn the everlasting hills with a breath as to alter the course of Providence by prayer. Shall those laws which are ordained for the general good be set aside or suspended for the sake of the individual?

“Think we, like some weak prince, the Eternal Cause  
Prone for his favorites to reverse his laws?  
When the loose mountain trembles from on high,  
Shall gravitation cease, if you go by?”

Into what confusion would the universe be thrown if the desires of men should be suffered to deflect the course of nature. The march of events would be directed and controlled not by divine wisdom but by the folly and caprice of men.

It is further evident that, even if God were willing to answer the petitions of men, He would find it a task beyond the resources of omnipotence. For their prayers are as varied and as contrary as their interests and desires. While armies clash upon fields of battle, what hosts of prayers contend before the throne of heaven! How shall all these prayers be answered? To grant the petition of one man is to deny the petition of another.

Moreover, it is through the practice of obedience to law that character is developed and disciplined. If, instead of seeking to obtain our desires and satisfy our needs through industry and self-denial, we have only to ask and we shall receive, what motive remains for toil and sacrifice? It were better than a thousand wishes should be unfulfilled, a thousand wants unsatisfied, than that we should lose the wisdom, the strength, the training that we gain from obedience to law.

The objection reaches the height of cogency for those who hold that in the light of Scripture and science we are bound to believe that all things have been determined from the beginning. “Whatsoever comes to pass.” Surely there is no room in such a creed for prayer. All things have been ordered and established in the counsels of eter-

nity; what remains for man but absolute and unquestioning obedience to the divine will? Let him adjust himself as best he may to the order of the universe; he can do no more. Obviously it is irrational in the highest degree to fancy that prayer can in any measure affect the course of nature or the will of God.

The force of this argument we cannot fail to recognize; it has proved a stumbling-block in the way of many believers. Some suggestions may be made by way of answer, which may serve to relieve if they cannot remove the difficulty.

(1) God has promised to answer prayer, but he has not promised to grant every petition in the form in which it is presented. He will not place the desires of men upon the throne of the universe. Conditions are prescribed to which men must conform before their prayers shall be heard, and the prime condition is that every prayer must be offered in the spirit of implicit submission to the divine will. Where that is wanting, there is no true prayer and no promise. The endeavor to substitute our will for the will of God is not prayer but presumption.

But here the question arises, Of what avail, then, is prayer, if we have no assurance that we shall receive what we ask? To this question the answer is twofold: (a) The soul is strengthened and purified in the act of prayer; whatever else we may receive or fail to receive, this blessing is assured. (b) The prayer is answered, though the petition be denied. God will give us what we ask, or something greater and better. He gives "exceeding abundantly above all we ask or think"—above, never below. The answer always outruns the petition. Often he grants the desire of the heart by denying the prayer of lips. Paul's thorn in the flesh illustrates this truth. The classic example in Christian literature is the prayer of Monica, mother of Augustine. She pleaded with God not to suffer him to leave home, lest he should fall into evil ways; but the journey from which she would hinder him led him into the Kingdom.

This is his account of the matter. "And what is it, O Lord, that she, with such an abundance of tears, was asking of thee, but that thou wouldst not permit me to sail? But thou, mysteriously counselling and hearing the real purpose of her desire, granted not what she then asked, in order to make me what she was ever asking." It is often found that the petition blocks the way of the prayer. The wisdom of God will overrule our folly. This it is that gives us freedom in prayer, that He will give or withhold as is best.

(2) Here, again, we must keep in mind the fact that prayer is chiefly concerned with the needs of the spirit. As we grow in the likeness of God, the needs of the body no longer hold the first place in our thoughts, but yield to the higher wants of the soul. In this realm, too, law prevails, but within that law freedom has room to play. It is the perfect law of liberty that controls the spirit. Those who insist most strenuously upon the uniformity and inflexibility of law in the sphere of matter recognize the freedom of the soul and maintain, with Pope, that God,

"Binding nature fast in fate,  
Left free the human will."

Or, if there are those who feel compelled by their philosophy to deny that man is free, yet they proceed habitually and inevitably to order their lives upon the principles of freedom. However it may be with his thought, no man is a thorough fatalist in act. The theory cannot be reduced to practice. In the realm of the spirit it is not hard to believe that God may impart to men the blessings which they seek, not only without violating the laws of our nature but in strict accord with them.

(3) The objection urged against prayer applies with equal force to labor. If it were rigorously applied it would lead us to sheer fatalism. All things have been determined from the beginning. We have nothing to do but wait and see what the unfolding of the divine purpose will bring. To labor is as irrational as to pray. How can our labor affect the course of nature or the purpose of the Almighty?



But it is answered, labor is provided for in God's plan of the universe; it has its place in the scheme of creation; it is one of the agents through which he executes his will; law operates through labor. That is true, but it is equally true of prayer. In the divine administration provision is made for prayer; it is one of the elements that enter into the divine purpose and plan, and has its place and its part as truly as the forces that operate in the material world. The decree by which the universe is ordered is not a blind and arbitrary command; it takes all things into account, gathers within its ample scope all the powers of matter and of spirit, works out its vast designs through agencies unnumbered. And among the powers and agencies thus enlisted is prayer. The prayer of man has its part in fulfilling the purpose of God. God's purpose respects man's freedom, man's freedom fulfils God's purpose. Prayer does not enter the universe as an alien power that cannot prevail without disturbing the course of nature; it is one of the forces by which that course is determined. Prayer is embraced in the divine decree, has its part in fulfilling the divine purpose as truly as labor. It does not supersede the will of God, but fulfils it. If we believe that by our labor we may accomplish visible and tangible results, bringing to pass what otherwise would not have been, why may we not ask God to do as much? Prayer is just as irrational and just as rational as labor. When we ask God for blessings of a material sort, we ask Him to do what we are continually doing—so to direct and use the forces of nature that they may minister to our needs. In the world of nature we constantly effect changes which without us would not have been wrought. Cannot God do as much? Whether the laws of nature may ever be suspended or set aside is a question of philosophic interest, but of no pressing practical importance. The fact is that in some way we do what without us would not be done; and the question is whether we shall think of God as more impotent and helpless than we are. Is the Creator alone to have no power over the

forces of nature? If our labor may yield visible results, why may not his will accomplish no less?

God has made it possible for us to help ourselves, and to help one another. Has He no power to help? Is He the only Father who can do nothing for His children? While men everywhere are bending the powers of nature to their will, is He condemned to look impotently down upon the world that He has fashioned? To the believer there is but one answer to these questions: "Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be the glory in the Church and in Christ Jesus unto all generations, for ever and ever. Amen."

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

*Princeton.*

## PRINCETON SEMINARY'S FIRST FOREIGN MISSIONARY—HENRY WOODWARD

It is just a century since Princeton Theological Seminary sent forth her first foreign missionary, Henry Woodward, whose modest career is the theme of this occasion.<sup>1</sup> It has been a century of distinguished service at home and abroad of this centre of spiritual power. From the humble beginning of one hundred years ago the Seminary has steadily increased her quota of faithful soldiers of Christ in this greatest of all crusades and never more profoundly and effectively than in these recent days has she laid her hand on the issues of the world's best life. Events that are transpiring and culminating while we are gathered here are of a nature to bring out into still brighter light and stronger relief the far-reaching results of labors of love and faith and sacrifice all through the years of this century of missionary service.

The subject of our study was born at Hanover, New Hampshire on February 3, 1797, the youngest of nine children born to Professor Bezaleel and Mary Wheelock Woodward. The latter was the daughter of the Reverend Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, founder and first President of Dartmouth College. Before her marriage she was familiarly known as "Miss Polly" and seems to have been a favorite and privileged character in the College circles in those picturesque and romantic days when Dartmouth was but a clearing amid the giant pines above the east bank of the Connecticut river. The story is told of her thrilling journey to Hanover from her Connecticut home, for the most of the way following up the river through primeval forests, encamping at times for the night in the open and hearing the howls of wolves too near for comfort. A tall and sedate tutor, a graduate of Yale, Bezaleel Woodward by

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<sup>1</sup> An Address delivered in Miller Chapel on November 13, 1918 by Dr. Hulbert to mark the one-hundredth anniversary of the graduation of his grandfather, Henry Woodward of the Class of 1818.

name, had been an instructor in Dr. Wheelock's school for Indians at Lebanon, Conn., and came with the President to the newly founded College in New Hampshire. He was a man of wide and solid attainments, a natural organizer, a clear thinker with a legal tendency of mind and a teacher of a broad range of adaptability.

Under the new conditions he early fell in love with "Miss Polly" and they were married on February 6, 1772. An acre of pine land had been given Tutor Woodward and thereon he built a log cabin with the usual huge fire place. Leaving the comparatively aristocratic mansion of her father, Mrs. Woodward began her married life in primitive and practical fashion. In their cabin living-room the Woodwards made place for the first collection of books brought together for a College Library. Hither came faculty and students to consult and draw books. Most of the College boys were of Indian blood, such as the young housewife had been accustomed to from early years.

Professor Woodward was a very busy man, with little time for home-life. A large share of the burdens of the College administration seems to have fallen upon his shoulders, besides the teaching. Indeed, it may be said that in the actual work of the College in its beginnings Professor Woodward was almost as much the founder as the older President. He was early chosen Clerk of the Board of Trustees and later elected a Trustee. To his work as Librarian was added that of Justice of Peace in the settlement. Later he became a Justice of His Majesty's Inferior Court for the County of Grafton. He was a zealous advocate of American independence and organized a Committee to stand back of the Continental Congress. He was made Stated Clerk of this federated Committee of Safety. The historian of Dartmouth College, Frederick Chase, says of him,—“No one in this part of the Province was so well equipped for leadership as Mr. Woodward both by natural talents and by education. To him the Provincial Congress gave full recognition by reappointing him in January 1776

one of the Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Grafton County.”<sup>2</sup> Another historian says of him in the record of the famine of 1778-9,—“The College would have been broken up for want of provisions if it had not been for the resolute exertions of Professor Woodward.”

In the stirring days of reconstruction Professor Woodward was a member of the Vermont legislature (its Clerk) at a time when the townships on the east bank of the Connecticut River decided to become members of the Green Mountain Republic. Later we find him at the head of a movement to bring together all the territory of the Connecticut River watershed, north of the Massachusetts line, into a Commonwealth to be called “New Connecticut” with its Capital at Hanover. He very nearly accomplished his ideal; but at last, through special pressure from Gen. George Washington, Vermont was admitted into the Union as the 14th State, with the Connecticut River as its eastern border. When President Wheelock died in 1779, Professor Woodward was acting-President. In lieu of all that happened afterward it would seem that he, rather than his brother-in-law John Wheelock should have been made the second President of Dartmouth.

From both parents, then, Henry Woodward might have been expected to inherit strong traits of body and spirit. He came from a race of prophetic souls, giant laborers in the Kingdom of God of the earlier New England day, men of depth and insight and remarkable initiative. The death of his father in 1804, when the boy was only seven, followed in three years by the decease of his widowed mother, left him in a forlorn condition, even though surrounded by relatives. Within four years thereafter he was in attendance upon at least three preparatory schools and so far homeless. In 1811, when only fourteen years of age he was admitted into the Freshman class at Dartmouth. Little is known of his College career. We have only brief references to visits he made during vacations. The last

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<sup>2</sup> *History of Dartmouth College*, p. 346.



of these occuppies, in a brief recapitulation he made for his children, more space than all the rest of his student life put together. It is full of pathos,—the struggles of this orphaned boy to find himself and his life-work. Great simplicity and humility and a restless zeal to 'accomplish his mission in life, indeed, mark all the twenty-two years yet to be given him.

It was at a revival meeting at Haverhill, N. H. that the speaker called out young Woodward's name in the midst of the service and pled with him before all the congregation to yield his life to God. The shock to the sensitive eighteen years old boy was just what seemed to be needed to bring him to himself, and he went back to College with a spiritual glow which carried everything before him, stirring the College community profoundly. He modestly says of the event in his autobiographical statement for his children written long afterward in India,—“At my request I was released from my school (a short vacation term) that I might go and publish among my friends the great things the Lord had done for my soul. I cannot express the joy I felt as I again entered Hanover, the place of my nativity. On every tree, every stone, indeed on everything I saw, there seemed to be the inscription “Holiness unto the Lord.” Soon after my arrival a glorious revival commenced in Hanover and I had the happiness of seeing many turning unto the Lord; among others was the Rev'd Mr. Spaulding, who was my class-mate, and now my fellow-laborer (Ceylon). During this season (1815) I joined the Presbyterian Church of Dartmouth College.”

Graduating that summer, he gave over an earlier desire to study medicine and determined to become a minister. His money having been all expended on his College studies, he decided to go westward and find a position as a teacher. He quaintly says,—“Being advised by all my friends I resolved on going abroad to seek my fortune. William [an older brother] gave me \$50., Beza a horse, James a saddle and bridle, George and my sisters clothing. Thus equipped

I mounted my horse not knowing whither I should go. Committing my way to the Lord I rode off."

He finally secured a position to teach in an Academy at Sangersfield, Erie County, N. Y. Here again a revival of religion followed him through the school year. Exaggerated reports of this reached his relatives in the East and they sent his brother Beza all through the intervening 380 miles to look him up. Finding him sound in mind as well as in body, Beza started to go home; but the young zealot detained him until he could accompany him.

Finding that young Woodward's heart was set on the ministry, his friends secured for him a scholarship here at Princeton Theological Seminary, whither he betook himself. His youthful signature appears in the enrollment book of the Seminary under the date of November 7, 1816, when he signed the formula subscribed to by the students a century ago, as follows:

"Deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of improving in knowledge, prudence and piety in my preparation for the Gospel ministry, I solemnly promise, in a reliance on divine grace, that I will faithfully and dilligently attend on all the instructions of this Seminary, and that I will conscientiously and vigilantly observe all the rules and regulations specified in the plan for its instruction and government, so far as the same relate to the students; and that I will obey all the lawful requisitions and readily yield to all the wholesome admonitions of the Professors and Directors of the Seminary while I shall continue to be a member of it."

When Henry Woodward began his work at Princeton he was nearing his twentieth birthday. I have often tried to put myself in his place and era and attempted to look out with his eyes upon historic Princeton and its far visions of beauty, as the seasons would come and go, of those nearly two years of his connection with the Seminary. I cannot find that natural beauty of landscape, or art, or science, or philosophy, or literature had any perceptible hold upon his

thought. There is no hint of a zeal for getting deep into the Bible through the use of the original languages. I am persuaded that he was not a scholar by nature; though later we note that he conquered the Tamil language with unusual speed, preaching his first sermon in that tongue less than a year after landing at the Jaffna mission field. There are also traditions of his calculating eclipses in India to the astonishment of the natives. His manuscript and printed sermons, also, through which I have worked, indicate a clear, simple, human, practical grasp of the text used, which would suggest a good mind and a careful training and experience lying back of all.

His autobiographical references to his Princeton days show that he underwent a profound searching of heart during his first, lonely term of study here, going through a period of doubt and hesitancy and self-abasement; but coming out of the struggle with the triumphant remark,—“This led me to more seriousness and prayerful consideration of my heart and life, which resulted in a more extensive acquaintance with my heart, and I had more enlivening views of my gracious Redeemer.” I cannot but think that as this boyish, homesick, orphaned heart walked these streets and took long tramps the country-side over, there may have been at the start an unhealthy, brooding sensitiveness fitted to make one wonder what prescription a competent physician would have given his liver; and to suspect that if ever he had it, he had unfortunately suppressed a saving grace of humor.

But by the second term he seems to have come out of that passing cloud of depression. He had found friends in the home of Mr. Elias Scudder—a group of young men to associate with whom buoyed him up and cheered his heart. He writes of that lengthened experience in the perspective of the years,—“I shall ever remember with gratitude the spiritual blessings I then enjoyed. I shall remember those hours as the most precious of my life.” This leads me to say that I have had difficulty in reconciling certain facts I

have gleaned from the Seminary records and the testimony he gives in his brief statement about his Princeton life. Some time before his arrival a missionary society had been formed and on Sept. 1, 1816 it had already adopted the following as a constitution,—“Desirous of obtaining important information respecting domestick and foreign missions with the view of ascertaining our personal duty as to engaging in them; desirous also of being made acquainted with the state of religion in our own and other countries; we, the subscribers, agree to form ourselves into an Association for the above purpose, to be known by the name of The Society of Inquiry Respecting Missions and the General State of Religion.” This organization at that date was fully equipped with President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Librarian, Secretary and a Standing Committee. On December 2, 1816 Henry Woodward was elected a member. I note such questions discussed as,—“In the present destitute situation of our own country would it be expedient to send missionaries to foreign lands?” and “Should the Blacks be colonized in Africa?” The records read,—“On Feb. 1, 1817 Mr. Woodward read a report of the present state of religion in the Chinese Empire.”

A careful study of these records assure me that the subject of foreign missions was not entirely neglected; yet in this company Henry Woodward does not seem to have gotten his inspiration to devote his life to the foreign work. He says distinctly, in speaking of his associates at the home of Mr. Elias Scudder, which could easily have been made up of others than Seminary students and of the Society of Inquiry,—“It was at this time my thoughts were first turned to the subject of missions. As my enquiries extended the subject magnified and in the same proportion my desire to become a missionary increased. At that time there was nothing of a missionary spirit in the Seminary; there was not an individual to encourage me. All was dissuasion. Yet when I looked upon the millions perishing my eye affected my heart and I felt ‘Woe be to me if I do not preach the Gospel in some dark corner of the earth.’”

He goes on to say, "I was fully aware that in view of such a work the great Apostle of the Gentiles trembled and exclaimed 'Who is sufficient for these things?' Well then might one weak in the faith shrink from such an undertaking were he not fully confident that the grace of God was sufficient to enable the weakest to accomplish great things. Had I conceived the conversion of the heathen as a work to be accomplished by might or by power, I should have declined the service; but knowing it to be otherwise, to be a work which could be accomplished only by the Spirit of Him who has declared 'Lo, I am with you always,' I solemnly devoted myself to the cause of missions in my closet. I resolved if God, by the leadings of His providence should indicate that it was His will to send me into some distant part of His great vineyard I would go." It is deeply interesting to note that the "Volunteer" spirit was in at the very beginnings of the Foreign Missionary consecration of Princeton Theological Seminary; and indeed the phraseology of the "pledge" of the modern movement that has transformed the whole mission enterprise in these days is almost identical with that used by the Seminary's first representative on the foreign field.

During Henry Woodward's nearly twenty-three months' direct connection with the Seminary it appears that his heart was continuously burning for active evangelistic service. All the vacation intervals were spent in colporteur or more directly evangelistic effort. During one such interval he covered on foot a total of one hundred miles in the pine sands of New Jersey distributing tracts and carrying to every home along his "friendly road" his warm, spiritual eagerness for souls. In June 1818 we find him in the northern suburbs (Liberties) of Philadelphia holding services and visiting two hundred homes for prayer and religious conversation. Everywhere he went revivals seem to have sprung up. No one can estimate the lasting effects of these devoted labors far and wide in this whole Princeton region. He found and made friends everywhere. He seems to



have had singular power and tact with children, who responded readily to his winning friendliness. It would seem that he kept his spiritual faculties keenly alive and developing, more by these outside excursions than he was able to do in the immediate pursuit of his theological studies. Wandering through the rural wastes of the countryside, ministering to the households of the humblest people his imagination was fired by a vision of the millions of heathen far away in their ignorance and superstition.

Among the many acquaintances he made was one first mentioned during his summer work in Philadelphia, a Miss Lydia Middleton of Crosswick near Trenton. Acquaintance ripened speedily into friendship and, in due time, into affection. It is evident that a genuinely old-time courtship followed. He quaintly writes of her who became his sainted first wife,—“We commenced a correspondence in a manner profitable to my soul. We mutually agreed to set apart one evening in each week to prayer and to enquire of the Lord if it was his will that we should be connected. The subject of missions also occupied our attention and we made this likewise the subject of conversation, correspondence and prayer.” The result was not unexpected. Zeal for the conversion of the heathen world became a mutual passion and when the call came directly there was no hesitancy on the part of either.

In September 1818 a summons to the bedside of a very sick brother hurried him to Hanover, N. H. On this trip he formally offered his services to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Boston. At that time this society was an interdenominational organization and sent forth most of the American missionaries seeking foreign service. While at Hanover he crossed the Connecticut River and went to Royalton, Vt. where he came before an ecclesiastical association (probably made up of both Congregationalists and Presbyterians) and was licensed to preach. On his return to Hanover late in October he says,—“I found a letter from Dr. Worcester in-

forming me that my services were accepted and requesting me to be present at the ordination of the Rev'd Messrs Fisk (Pliny Fisk who was soon sent to Syria), Spaulding and Winslow, in Salem, which was to take place on Nov. 4th. I made speedy preparation and went to Salem, where I also was ordained. At this time Ceylon was assigned me as the field of my future labours in connection with Messrs Spaulding and Winslow." Thereafter he hastened to Trenton, N. J.,—and at Crosswick, N. J. was married to Lydia Middleton on November 16th. She was a war-bride in good earnest. On December 7th they started for Hanover that Mrs. Woodward might meet the relatives of her husband and that they might make last visits.

It does not take a very powerful historic imagination to reconstruct the experiences of Henry Woodward and his wife and realize how much more serious a matter it was a century ago for a man and woman to go forth to a distant foreign field than it is today. As it turned out neither Henry Woodward nor his wife, Lydia Middleton, ever returned to their native land. Slow communication by sailing vessel past many savage and barbarous countries, the large expense of travel and many other circumstances made it altogether an exceptional case when a devoted worker, after seeing the shore of the homeland drop below the horizon, could expect ever to see it again. He faced not time but eternity.

The few months of home visiting were filled with tender and pathetic scenes. As ever active wherever opportunity offered, Henry Woodward supplied several pulpits until the call came to sail. He was especially in request at Newbury, Vt. and almost accomplished a brief pastorate there, leaving behind him, as ever, the fires of a revival spirit. He writes,—“I took my farewell of that people on the Sabbath. It was a heartrending scene. Being informed that the Brig in which we were to sail to India was in readiness we went to Hanover, where all my brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, who lived near, were assembled

to bid us farewell. In prayer little Henry Hutchinson kneeled at the same chair with me when I made the last prayer. In Boston (Mass.) my dear wife was very ill, but by the mercy of God she was so far restored as to be able to embark with Mr. & Mrs. Spaulding, Mr. & Mrs. Scudder, Mr. & Mrs. Winslow and myself on the Brig "Indus", Capt. I. Mills, for Ceylon. At Russia wharf, from which we embarked, a number of friends, with Bro. George, were assembled to give us the parting hand. Rev'd Dr. Worcester gave out the hymn "Blest be the tie that binds" and then commended us to the Word of His grace. Brother George and Dr. Worcester and others accompanied us a little way from the wharf."

The story of that memorable voyage from Boston to Calcutta, taking from June 8th to October 20th—130 days in all—has often been told. One reported, "On the whole our sea has been smooth, our accomodations good and our long passage the journey of a day." This sounds a bit unsympathetic from the standpoint of the Woodward contingent, Mrs. Woodward having been very ill much of the way and on September 4th having given birth to a boy. But in the midst of devoted labors for his wife Henry Woodward was a leading spirit in the truly remarkable revival that brought what seemed to be conviction and conversion to every officer and seaman aboard. Capt. Mills was obviously a Christian man of high character, but the officers and the crew were hardened sailors, some of them not being able even to read. The missionary ladies gave the men Bibles when ten days out and won their attention and interest. A man was swept overboard and rescued with difficulty. This made a deep impression. July 5th was solemnly set apart as a day for fasting and prayer. One reports of this occasion,—“We were enabled to wrestle sweetly with God for the outpouring of His Holy Spirit upon ourselves, the souls of our perishing seamen, upon our beloved Country and for the poor, benighted heathen.”

One by one the officers and men were touched at heart.

Special united prayer was concentrated upon individuals known to be under conviction. After rounding the Cape of Good Hope matters seemed to press toward a decision. The record for October 2nd reads,—“During the week past we have been able to do little more than stand still and see the salvation of God. Events most interesting have passed before us in such rapid succession that we have been forced to remain in almost silent astonishment, waiting for the result. Our meeting with the seamen on the Sabbath before the last was uncommonly solemn. Except the man at the helm all were present, and, as has since appeared, we might say, verily the Lord was in the place and we knew it not. A divine influence descended like the silent dew and from this time opposition to the truths preached pretty much ceased.” The officers seem to have been first to respond to these surroundings. When talked with, men wept. On Sunday, October 10th, Mr. and Mrs. Woodward dedicated their infant boy to God in baptism. All the men by this time had confessed Christ, had sought the prayers of others and had hope of salvation. We judge from the records of after events that several of the seamen fell before the temptations of the port of Calcutta, but a large majority held firm, while one devoted his life to religious work fitted for his education.

The Woodwards were detained at Calcutta by the severe illness of Mrs. Woodward and by the death of their son, George Henry, on November 3rd, at that place. The others had proceeded on the journey. During this severe trial of illness, death and detention, the eager heart of Henry Woodward gave him no rest and he preached, we are told, with a force that brought conviction to many seamen in his Calcutta audiences. On December 18th they however got away and after a tempestuous voyage arrived at Trincomalie, the principal natural harbor in Ceylon. Making their way overland by the aid of coolies, they reached Battacotta of the Jaffna mission on February 3, 1820, Henry Woodward's twenty-third birthday.

The Jaffna Mission of the American Board had been in existence less than four years and was still in a formative state. It was built on ancient foundations of missionary effort by the Portuguese Catholics, who after a sway of nearly 400 years had been succeeded by the Dutch. Schemes of compulsory political conversion had been used by both these nationalities. On their departure their work fell like a house of cards, leaving a bad impression among the Ceylonese of all mission effort on the part of foreigners. But the sane and practical and brotherly methods of the Americans had already broken down prejudice and made marked advance among the Tamils inhabiting the Jaffna peninsula and the adjacent islands.

In a compact territory 30 miles by 15 were found 160,000 of this race whose ancestors had, with three times as many more, invaded Ceylon from the continent a thousand years previously. In 1820 under the British overlordship these three quarters of a million Ceylonese made a modest Tamil colony from the 12,000,000 of their race to the north and west of them in the Madras Presidency in Southeastern India. The Rev. Samuel Newell, agent of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, had wrought better than he knew, when he recommended that body to establish a mission at this strategic point among the most virile peoples, not only of Ceylon, but also of southern India. There was great prejudice against missionaries throughout the dominions ruled over by the East India Company, especially against American Missionaries, and few had been allowed to set foot on the mainland, much less to establish missions there. Only on islands were they allowed to operate. Hence Bombay and Ceylon offered the required conditions for the initiation of their work.

From the first the Americans in the Jaffna mission strongly emphasized the connection of the school to the church and developed a system of mission practice that, after a long and arduous battle, especially with the authorities at the Mission Rooms in Boston, at last won out and



has been approved by the experiences of a century of missionary endeavor the world over. Henry Woodward devoted the major part of his time and strength to perfect this wise plan. Grandson as he was to Eleazar Wheelock, founder of the Indian School at Lebanon, Ct. and of Dartmouth College, and son of Bezaleel Woodward, teacher and organizer, he had those inherited and acquired qualities fitting him markedly for this work.

Mr. and Mrs. Woodward settled down at Battacotta with Messrs. Meigs and Richards and their wives as colleagues. Here at once began the arduous task of mastering the Tamil language. Later they moved to Tillapilly, where, on the first Sabbath of November 1820, a little more than nine months after landing, Mr. Woodward preached his first sermon in that strange tongue, the complete manuscript of which has been preserved. The same week a son, William Allen, was born on November 8, 1820. A few months later (February 1821) a transfer was made to Manepy where the young missionary tried his hand at house building, as his father had done before him. But no sooner had they gotten into the new structure than a serious disability came. For months he tried to carry on his work but at last he was compelled to seek medical aid as far afield as Calcutta, involving in those days a more arduous journey than a European trip would mean to us of these days. There he found just the help needed and became again a well, though far from robust, man. During his stay in Calcutta a characteristic thing happened. He visited an Orphan Asylum and held repeated meetings with the children, with the result that he left behind him, as he returned to his Mission, another revival. One of these converts became, in due course of years, the wife of a missionary.

On his arrival at Jaffna he found his wife and son well, and with renewed health and zeal he plunged into work. Another son, Henry Wheelock, was born on October 2, 1822 at Battacotta. In July 1823 he took complete charge of the Station of Tillapilly, laboring in school and church.

All through these years of the mission the American missionaries had to contend with the marked hostility of the British Governor Barnes, who seemed to have a prejudice against them because of their nationality. Especially he refused to let them set up the printing press which had been sent out from America at great expense. But they struggled on as best they could. As the year of 1824 wore on a marked work of grace commenced in the school, spreading throughout the community and large numbers were won to Christ. On February 6, 1825 a daughter, Lydia Middleton, was born. Mrs. Woodward's health had been declining for some time and two months later an illness came the effects of which she never threw off. We have a graphic picture of happy family outings by the seashore, by those wide-stretching waters reaching to the homeland which would never be crossed by those lonely hearts. On November 24 the end came and one more grave raised its silent mound above those coral strands of Ceylon. The event greatly impressed the native community by whom Mrs. Woodward was greatly beloved, and the Mission circle, always so few in numbers in those early days, was overwhelmed with sympathy and grief, doing everything possible to be done for the stricken father and children. The latter were taken to the home of Dr. and Mrs. Scudder. A great faith sustained the heart of the lonely missionary. For seven months he worked on by himself at Tillapilly, going on occasion to the homes of nearby missionaries for consolation and companionship. Gradually it was impressed upon him by his friends that his usefulness as a laborer in that field would be greatly enhanced if only he could find a mother for his children and get his little family about him.

At nearly the same time as his own great sorrow, affliction had come to the home of a missionary family in Bombay, where, on October 18, 1825 the Rev. Edmund Frost passed away after a brief career in that field. His wife was Clarissa Emerson, daughter of Captain John Emerson of Chester, New Hampshire, where she was born November 13,

1798, 120 years ago today. A severe ruling of the British authorities in India in those days made it impossible for a single woman, unmarried or widowed, to remain in any of the missionary centres. A widow, indeed, in that land was especially discounted by the native population. But the friends of Mrs. Frost greatly desired to keep her at her valuable work for Christ in that needy land. They managed to delay her homeward voyage. Hearing of the death of Mrs. Woodward in the distant Jaffna mission they corresponded with the workers there with such effect that at length an appeal was made to Mr. Woodward to open correspondence with Mrs. Frost as to her willingness to have him visit her for the mutual consideration of a possible marriage. The important letters of this unusual courtship are extant and exhibit a tender and exalted faith on the part of each, leading to an affirmative reply to Mr. Woodward's request. Thereupon he voyaged to Bombay, suffering shipwreck on the way, but arriving in safety on October 24, 1826. The way for these two stricken hearts had been singularly prepared. The record reads,—“I went on shore to Rev'd Mr. Graves' house, where Mrs. C. E. Frost boarded. I met her alone and the first thing we did was to kneel at the throne of grace to render praise and thanksgiving to God for all his mercies, which we had so abundantly experienced. I then read from the Bible which Mrs. Frost put into my hands the 103rd Psalm. On the morning of October 12 (three weeks later) we were married.” On the return voyage shipwreck nearly overwhelmed them but on January 21, 1827 they arrived at Manepy to be welcomed by the Mission and especially by the expectant children, William Allen, Henry Wheelock and Lydia Middleton.

It is a regret to state that the last seven years of the life of Henry Woodward, in spite of his happy home life were filled with records of illness, approaching chronic invalidism. Children were born, Edmund Frost, December 30, 1827; Clarissa Annette, September 9, 1829; John Bezaleel,

December 26, 1831, and Mary Elizabeth, September 21, 1833. The two shipwrecks on the trip to Bombay and return greatly weakened his physical powers, leading to pulmonary difficulties. He labored on faithfully, especially in the schools of the mission, at times having great encouragement in the return of periods of comparative health; but every once in a while he had to be sent away for change and recuperation, generally taking one or other of the older children with him for companionship.

In 1829 he undertook a work for which he was long remembered by the children of the missionary homes, by establishing a monthly Friday meeting for their especial benefit. I recall distinctly the testimony of the Rev. Dr. Daniel Poor of Philadelphia, who as a boy enjoyed this ministry, as to the power and fruitfulness of these services kept up by Henry Woodward to the end of his active work.

These last years of his life were greatly saddened by the inevitable separation from his older children, who had to be sent to America for their education. Between the lines of the brief notes and in his fatherly letters to each child we discover the agony of parental solicitude for these children, who must now taste some at least of the bitternesses of his own orphaned boyhood. Late in October of 1833 his health began perceptibly to fail and he was advised by his missionary brethren to seek the bracing climate of the Nilghery Hills in the Madras Presidency. Accompanied by Mrs. Woodward and her eldest son, Edmund Frost, and the recently arrived baby, Mary Elizabeth, they travelled to Ootacamund, a lofty and salubrious European resort up on the main mountain range of southern India.

By a strange Providence here took place the events which, in spite of great physical weakness, crowned the missionary career of Henry Woodward, events which brought forth a fruitage more copious and lasting in their effects than all the other labors of his life. Already the workers among the comparatively small colony of Tamils in Ceylon had looked longingly across the narrow straits which separated

them from the 12,000,000 Tamils, whose language they had learned, and for whose Christianization they were so well prepared. After the departure of Mr. and Mrs. Woodward for the Nilghery Hills, their colleague, Rev. Levi Spaulding was sent across to spy out the land, taking tracts and portions of Scriptures for distribution. But the Madras Government was obdurate against any such move. Mr. Woodward in his mountain retreat had heard that the Governor General of India, Lord William Bentinck, had recently permitted American missionaries to enter the Bengal Presidency. Learning that Sir Frederick Adam, the Governor of Madras, was soon to take up his residence in the Nilgheries to be near important military operations, he determined to win his approval for American work in the Madras Presidency. One day they dined together and the missionary got the Governor talking about missions, against which as carried out by the English missionaries he found serious fault. Whereupon Mr. Woodward asked him how he would have the work done. The Governor graciously gave his opinions in extenso. These were so exactly in accord with the methods used by Mr. Woodward and his colleagues in the Jaffna Mission that he secured the opportunity to have the Governor read the printed reports of the Mission as to these matters. Some days after Sir Frederick expressed his great satisfaction with the work thus outlined. Immediately Mr. Woodward asked permission for the American missionaries to labor along the same lines in the Madras Presidency. The Governor at once said that he could give no offhand decision, and that the request must be made to the Governor in Council.

Thereupon Mr. Woodward sent to Madras the following letter of application:

"To H. Chamier, Esq.,  
Chief Secretary to Government,  
Madras.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose to you an application to Government



which I will thank you to communicate to the Right Honorable Sir Frederick Adam, Governor in Council.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Yours most obediently,

(Signed) Henry Woodward,

Ootacamund,

American Missionary.

May 19th, 1834.

The enclosed application to Government reads as follows :

To the Right Honorable Sir Frederick Adam, Governor in Council.  
Right Honorable Sir,

The Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Now residing in the District of Jaffna, Island of Ceylon, being desirous of extending their missionary operations to the neighboring continent, having deputed me to apply to your Excellency for permission for some of their number to settle in such parts of the District of Madura, within the Madras Presidency, AS may be found eligible for the establishment of schools and for conducting other departments of missionary labor. I trust our object will commend itself to your Excellency's approbation, and that your Excellency will be pleased to grant the desired permission.

I have the honor to be,

On behalf of the American

Your Excellency's

Missionaries in Jaffna.

Most obedient servant,

Ootacamund

(Signed) Henry Woodward.

May 19th, 1834.

This application was sent to Madras, thence it came back to the Nilgheries, was granted by the Governor, returned again with the reply to Madras, and forwarded to Mr. Woodward at the Nilgheries.

The following is the reply:—

Ecclesiastical Department.

No. 60.

Extract from the minutes of Consultation under date 3rd June 1834, Read the following letter from Rev. H. Woodward, American Missionary.

(See letter above)

The Governor in Council is pleased to comply with the request conveyed in the foregoing letter; and directs that the Principal Collector, Madura, Be made acquainted with the resolution of Government on the subject.

(A true Extract.)

(Signed) H. Chamier,

Chief Secretary.

The success of this effort with the authorities and the excitement attending it seem to have been too much for the enfeebled constitution of Mr. Woodward. He started for his Mission with his devoted wife, but was stricken down on the way at Coimbatoor, where he breathed his last. The letter written by Mrs. Woodward from this place to her friends in America is still extant and is one of those supremely pathetic utterances of a desolated heart far from home and alone. The remains of her husband were buried there where his rare spirit entered upon its truest life.

It was thus the privilege of Princeton Theological Seminary to send forth as its first missionary one who, by his native kindliness and force of character, was the Providential agent in opening to the American missionary that large section of Southeastern India known as the Presidency of Madras. It was his last bit of work as he closed his career far from his native land and laid him down to die with the calm serenity of Christian faith; but its far-reaching effects make it evident as the outstanding event of his eager, short life. Madras Presidency today has a larger number of native Christians than is to be found in all the other sections of the Peninsula put together. Little could Henry Woodward have seen that, radiating out from his tomb at Coimbatoor, within two generations there should come so marked and divine approval of his humble efforts.

*Groton, Conn.*

HENRY WOODWARD HULBERT.

## HEROES

A beautiful incident in the life of David is recorded in the Twenty-third Chapter of the Second Book of Samuel. Once, when his fortunes were at a low ebb, he and his followers had taken refuge in a hold, and the Philistines had captured Bethlehem, his childhood's home. In his weariness and discouragement he longed and said, "Oh, that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate!" To him, at that moment, the "water of the well of Bethlehem" seemed the only draught that would meet his need to the full. It was the water he had drunk when a boy; and he remembered how, when he was warm and overwrought, it had quenched his thirst and cooled his life and renewed his strength. It lived in his memory as the ideal water; so the blessings of childhood do live in the man's memory. In the trials of his later years, many a man has longed like David, exclaiming, "Oh, that I could have my mother's hand smooth my brow! that I could feel her arms around me again! Then I could endure anything." Or on sleepless nights, how often have men thought, "Oh, that I could only lie again on that little bed, in that little room, where I had such delicious dreamless slumber! I would get rest then. Oh, that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate!" So David longed, looking back from the desert of his manhood to the oasis of his youth. Three mighty men heard him as he gave expression to his yearning; and out of love for him, they buckled on their armour, took their spears and shields, "brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Bethlehem, which was by the gate, and brought it to David." David looked at the water, and he looked at the men. He knew what that water had cost. It seemed sacred to him, so that, although he craved it, "nevertheless he would not drink thereof, but poured it out unto the Lord," saying, "Is not this the blood of the men

that went in jeopardy of their lives?" It is a picture of heroism and nobility unapproached in beauty and poetry by any of the stories of the classic heroes of Greece or Rome.

It brings us three truths especially appropriate for this hour. It shows what heroes are; what heroes do for mankind; and how humanity should use the gifts brought to them by heroes.

We have here the perfect presentation of heroes. What are heroes? How can we recognize them? What are the features which distinguish them? What are the qualities in which the heroic consists? There could not be a more accurate portrayal and complete exposition of heroes than that given in these words, "men that went in jeopardy of their lives" to secure a good for another. Persons who go in jeopardy of their lives to win a benefit for others are heroes. Two great qualities shine out in such action—courage and consecration. To go in jeopardy of life is the acid test of courage. Existence is so often confined to conventional plains, that many never face the supreme risk, never find themselves confronted with a question involving life or death. They never step into a path where the chances are they will not come out alive. Under such emasculated schedules life degenerates into a fruitless growth, which merely cumbers the ground. The human being attains worth only when he grapples with some task that puts him to the supreme test—when he goes into some path knowing that it may cost him his life. That is the point where the thrill and glory of courage come in. The man, in that searching moment, stands alone, seeing the danger, aware that death lurks in the task, that the door into the unknown may open in that experience; and yet he deliberately takes the risk, and, with a great surge of spirit, advances unhesitatingly along that awesome way, going in jeopardy of his life to gain some end. That is the hero. The physician does it when he attends a patient sick with a malignant and infectious disease. The engineer does it

when he keeps his hand on the throttle, though he sees the collision is unescapable. The woman does it when she descends into the mysterious valley of motherhood. The soldier does it when he goes over the top. It is not a dress-parade, not a tableau, not a pose before photographic cameras. It is a silent, icy moment—a transcendent experience. It searches a heart and sifts a soul. In it only the genuine survives, the real is distinguished from the make-believe. Then the hero stands out, and the glory of courage is revealed. Courage! That dauntless, reckless, unconquerable, splendid passion, which braves the uttermost, defies the ultimate, looks into the silent darkness, says, "I am at grips with death," and unhesitatingly goes in jeopardy of its life. That is the baptism of fire, in which worth is born. No man is a real man, and no woman is a real woman, until they have faced this overwhelming issue. What a glorious thing courage is! and what a glorious life it opens to man! One day, nay one hour, of that transcendent thrill when, with unshaken soul, he goes in jeopardy of his life to gain his end, is worth more than a thousand years of ignoble and mediocre living. The man who seeks to save his life, who spends his time saving his life, loses it; he never really tastes life. The man who, with sublime courage, loses his life, or goes in jeopardy of his life, for a great purpose, finds it. No one but the hero ever enters into life, fathoms its depths or reaches its pinnacles. It is a more abundant ecstasy, which only those share who go in jeopardy. They hear the surge and feel the flow of the fathomless tides of Eternity; they catch a vision of the perspectives of the Infinite; and, as they stride forward in the transcendent venture, their souls are thrilled as with the presence of the invisible God.

The other great quality shining in the hero's character is consecration. In his heart the hero puts something higher than his own life. He pledges his first devotion to something not himself. Let that be imperilled, and he does not hesitate to go in jeopardy to protect it. That is the essence of



heroism, and it is the noblest quality in man—an unselfish devotion to something not himself, to some person, some principle, some cause. There are two classes of human beings. On the one hand, there are the coldly selfish, who hold self above every other interest. They would never put self in jeopardy to protect or save any other cause. They would juggle with any issue, no matter how momentous, in order to advance their own personal interests. They would play politics with any question to further their own ambition or campaign. One week they will be on one side, and the next week they will get on exactly the opposite side, according as the exigencies of their careers may require. They are clever and astute, skillful in expressing fine emotions, able to coin ideal sentiments in pleasing phrases; but they are always far from real danger. They always keep themselves safe and in comfort, and never in all their loquacious careers do they expose themselves or go in jeopardy of their lives to secure for man any of the good things about which they prate so glibly. We know the type: they are men of words, not deeds. On the other hand, there are those who are single-eyed in devotion to some person or cause, and who at the call of that cause forget self—the men and women of deeds, not words, who, when they see a good imperilled or a benefit needed by their fellow-men leap into the breach and magnificently go in jeopardy of their lives to get that blessing for humanity. When the mother hears the cry of her child in peril she forgets self; she does not sit down to meditate on mother-love, but, leaving fine phrases to the talkers, she goes in jeopardy of her life to save her infant. When the philanthropist sees liberty imperilled by monstrous Huns or by scheming demagogues, he does not indulge in graceful sentiments about freedom, but goes in jeopardy of his life to defend it. The embattled farmers at Concord were more devoted to freedom than to their own existence; therefore, when they saw that freedom assailed and tottering, they did not count the cost, but went in jeopardy of their lives

"By the rude bridge which spanned the flood." The patriots, barefooted and suffering, at Valley Forge put the independence of the colonies above their own safety and comfort; therefore, when they saw that independence endangered, they went in jeopardy of their lives through the awful winter of 1777. The soldiers at Gettysburg cared more for the Union than they did for themselves, and, seeing that Union assailed by hosts of rebels, went in jeopardy of their lives during those burning days of July, 1863. Greater nobility there cannot be than the devotion to a cause, which, blazing a mighty passion in the soul, moves a man to go in jeopardy of his life for others.

These two divine emotions burn in the hearts of heroes: consecration to a cause, and courage to face the uttermost, until, under their inspiration, they go in jeopardy of their lives to bring a boon to others. So this incident shows us what heroes are.

It shows again what heroes do for humanity.

The world owes all its good things to heroes, to those who go in jeopardy of their lives. Somehow, generation after generation, the well of Bethlehem gets into the hands of the Philistines. The good which man needs—the refreshing, the liberty, the blessing—gets into the power of the enemy. There is only one way of obtaining the blessing for mankind. The garrison of the Philistines holding the well of Bethlehem must be broken through. The blessing has never through all the ages been secured for humanity in any other way. There is not one treasure or privilege which men enjoy to-day that was not secured for them by those who went in jeopardy of their lives to obtain it.

Pacifists never broke through any Philistine garrison. Talkers never forced their way into the captured Bethlehem, never reached the well guarded by the enemy, never brought its refreshing to a needy race.

One class, and one class alone, has helped and blessed and saved mankind—the heroes—those who went in jeopardy of their lives to win for humanity the needed benediction.

Through all history the record is the same. In every nation, from the beginning, the same story is repeated over and over again, whether in Palestine or in Greece, in France, in England, or in America.

Who stopped the Persian hordes at Thermopylae and saved Europe from Asiatic despotism? Pacifists? Politicians? Peace-at-any-price men? Never! If Greece, in her hour of peril, had been dependent upon such creatures she would have been overwhelmed in the Oriental invasion and utterly engulfed. Her draught of deliverance from the well of Bethlehem was brought to her in her day of need by heroes who went in jeopardy of their lives to obtain it.

Who stopped the Mohammedan hordes at Tours, and saved Europe from the Moslem peril? Who secured for England her Magna Charta at Runnymede? Who saved her from being devastated by the Spanish Armada? To whom does she owe every civil blessing? Who brought her the water from the well of Bethlehem? Heroes, who in sublime consecration and with splendid courage went in jeopardy of their lives and broke through the garrison of the Philistines.

Read our own chronicles. Turn the pages of American history. We have great blessings. We drink deep draughts of the water of the well of Bethlehem—civil liberty, religious liberty, individual opportunity. Priceless privileges are ours. Whence came they? Who brought them to us? Let Bunker Hill answer, and Yorktown, and Appomattox, and San Juan. Everything we have we owe to heroes, who went in jeopardy of their lives, and, breaking through the Philistine garrison at awful cost to themselves, brought to their fellow-men the living water from the well of Bethlehem.

Once again in our generation the Philistine garrison has risen up and fortified itself in Bethlehem. Every great treasure and privilege of the race has been imperilled. Who are saving the situation to-day? The men who cried, Peace, Peace, when there was no Peace? If they had had their

way we would at this moment be in the pit of servitude. The wonder is we are not there, considering their vicious wrong-headedness and vindictive insanity for three years. That we are saved today is due not to the talkers and politicians and phrase-makers; it is due entirely to heroes—men who, out of an unselfish and splendid consecration to a great cause, and with sublime courage, have gone in jeopardy of their lives for our sakes.

If we have any water from the well of Bethlehem to quench our souls' yearnings to-day and to-morrow, and if the next generation has any of the privileges of Freedom, it will not be because of pacifists and politicians at home, but solely because these heroes, at terrible cost to themselves, broke through the Philistine garrison and conserved, in the twentieth century, the priceless treasures which the heroes of all the past had won. The David of humanity would never have tasted this divine, refreshing water from the well of Bethlehem, if heroes had not risen up in the greatness of their souls and in the generosity of their hearts, and unselfishly gone in jeopardy of their lives for the sake of mankind. Back of all our privileges lie the supreme sacrifices of the noble individuals who secured them for us. There they stand, a great multitude, consecrated, unselfish, courageous; and the last company to join this splendid throng is the host of magnificent young men from America, who, not counting their lives dear, putting their cause above themselves, and drawing back from no service, are standing between us and indescribable horror.

We owe heroes everything, from freedom in this world to Salvation in the next world; from the blessing of the life that now is to the Blessing of the Life that is to come. The water of the well of Bethlehem in time and in Eternity is brought to us by heroes, who, going in jeopardy of their lives, break through the Philistine garrison and secure for us the priceless boon.

And this brings us to the last truth emphasized by the action of David: How humanity should use the gifts

brought to it by heroes. There are two ways of using these priceless privileges. One is the selfish way. David might have drunk the water brought to him by the mighty men. He might have used it to quench a bodily thirst; he might have spent it on his lower life for a momentary and carnal gratification. The callous, materialistic brute, surrounded by the blessings of civilization, takes the cup of water handed to him by heroes, who went in jeopardy of their lives and shed their blood to obtain it, and, so to speak, drinks it up greedily, squanders it upon his lower nature, to secure a temporary or carnal satisfaction. Then that which is holy is given unto dogs. Then pearls of great price are cast among swine. The gifts of heroes are exploited for selfish enjoyment. The other way is the way of David. He saw the red blood of sacrifice crimson over the cup of refreshing. He saw that the privilege was sacred, hallowed by the price at which it had been secured; that it would be sin and sacrilege to use it to gratify the selfish desires of the lower nature. He exclaimed, "Far be it from me that I should drink it! Is it not the blood of the men who went in jeopardy of their lives?" And he poured it out unto the Lord.

How do people to-day use the priceless privileges won for them by heroes? How do we use our civic privileges? For example, there is the Ballot. Millions of men shed their blood to secure for us the right to govern ourselves. When we look at history we see a throng which no man can number hurling themselves generation after generation against the garrison of the Philistines, which held the Ballot away from humanity. For centuries that garrison was too strong for mankind. Every assault upon the citadel of autocracy was repelled, and hecatombs perished without being able to attain their end. But in each generation the fight was renewed, until at last what had seemed inaccessible was won. Mighty men broke through the garrison of the Philistines and brought to the race this water from the well of Bethlehem—the Ballot, the right to govern them-



selves. The Ballot! It is sacred. "Is it not the blood of the men who went in jeopardy of their lives?" How do men use it to-day? What anathema could adequately condemn such political machines as Tammany, which buy votes to maintain their power? Could any stigma of shame, or lash of penalty, be too severe for the recreant who should sell this blood-bought privilege for money? Only those use it rightly who, recognizing it as a holy thing, exercise their franchise as if partaking of a sacrament, not for the selfish purposes of the lower life, but for the highest welfares of the Kingdom, pouring it out before the Lord.

Or think of our safety at home, one of the unutterable privileges which we enjoy to-day. In this land we are in safety. We all drink this draught from the well of Bethlehem. The American laborer drinks it, as he goes in security to his work; the American business man drinks it as, in security, he conducts his business; the American politician drinks it as, in security, he schemes for his re-election. The roar of the terrible guns does not deafen our ears; the shock of armies is kept far from our cities. No slaughter wastes our communities and drenches our streets; no disaster blights our homes. Happy indeed are we as in this dark hour we quaff this refreshing of safety, while the other side of the world welters in blood. To what do we owe this privilege? Who has broken the Philistine garrison and brought this gift to us? The heroes in the trenches and on the ships; they alone have done this great thing for us. Take them away, and in a few weeks the tread of the Hun would resound on our thresholds and the hand of the Hun would tighten on our throats. Only these heroes stand between us and that horror. They ward it off from us by their struggles; they lay down their lives to protect us from it. Our safety is at this very moment crimsoned and consecrated by their supreme sacrifices. "Is it not the blood of the men who went in jeopardy of their lives?"

How are we using that safety to-day? Is anyone drinking it to gratify the selfishness of the lower life? Is any

laborer using it as an opportunity to strike and demand exorbitant wages? Is any business man using it as an opportunity to make exorbitant profits? Is any politician taking advantage of this safety to juggle with issues for party, power, or votes? Are any exploiting heroes for selfish ends? There is only one worthy way of using this safety—refusing to squander it in pleasures, partaking of it as of a sacrament, employing it for the Kingdom, pouring it out unto the Lord.

Back of every blessing is the sacrifice of the heroes who secured it. Every benediction is sprinkled with the blood of those who gave themselves to win it for us, from the physical life for which the mother went down into the valley of the shadow to the Eternal Life, for which the Christ went up Mount Calvary. For it is, as Peter reminds us, in his bearing our sins in his body upon the tree that Christ has given to us the supreme example of self-sacrifice.

There is only one way worthily to use such gifts, the way of David. God forbid that we should drink them, should spend them for selfish pleasure, for the gratification of the lower nature. This water from the well of Bethlehem has cost so much that it should be devoted to high ends. May we pour it out unto the Lord. "Is it not the blood of the men who went in jeopardy of their lives?"

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## NOTES AND NOTICES.

### THE WORD הִזְקִיר IN DANIEL xii.3.

There are two main lines of attack upon the historicity of the Old Testament Scriptures. One is fundamentally theoretical and *a priori*, and is based upon the deistical view of the universe and of history. Denying the possibility and the fact of divine interventions in the affairs of this world, the upholders of this view reject as unhistorical all records of miraculous events and of revelations from God to man. The second line of attack is objective and *a posteriori*, and is based upon the claim that the statements of the records are untrue. In support of the latter claim, it is alleged that there is a sure and convincing witness in the language in which the records are written.

In Dr. Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament*, there are about thirty-five pages of testimony derived from style, syntax, morphology, and diction, collected, and offered, as evidence sufficient to show that most of the records are not what they purport to be, and that they could not have been written until long after the events of which they speak had transpired, if they ever transpired at all. Of this literary testimony, the *Literature of the Old Testament* rightly lays especial emphasis upon the diction of a document as an evidence of its date, and especially upon certain words which are alleged to be of Aramaic origin. It is the purpose of this note to test some of these alleged Aramaic words, in order to see whether they prove what is claimed.

First, we make a general denial of the assumption that the presence of so-called Aramaic words in a document indicates that it is late. In view of the fact that the Arameans are mentioned in the letters of Hammurabi and in those found at Tel Amarna, and also in many documents coming from Palestine and the surrounding countries from 1800 B.C. down to the present time,<sup>1</sup> and that the Hebrew language has existed in the same regions during all that time, more than the mere presence of an Aramaic word in a Hebrew document written during the last 3,500 years is needed in order to determine the date.

<sup>1</sup> See Kraeling: *Aram and Israel*.

In the "time of ignorance," before the great discoveries of documents that have been made in the last seventy years, Von Lengerke and De Wette, Gesenius and Ewald, with their comparatively meagre knowledge of ancient history and language, may justly be accused merely of presumption in assuming a knowledge which they could not have possessed; but *now*, any one who asserts that any writer of any Hebrew document from 1500 B.C. down to the present may not have made use of so-called Aramaic words is sinning against light and knowledge. One might with more assurance assert that the age of an English document written since the conquest could be determined from the presence in it of a word of Latin or French origin.

Secondly, as an instance in point, we shall in this note consider one of the six verbs occurring in the Book of Daniel which the critics allege to be Aramaic in sense or origin, and hence to indicate a date for the work subsequent to the age of Nehemiah.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Driver says that the form הוֹהִיר of Dan. xii, 3 is found only here in the sense "to shine," and that it is used in an Aramaic sense, with which he compares its use in Ecclesiasticus xliii, 9.<sup>3</sup> Bevan says that it "is found nowhere else in the Old Testament, but the root often has this sense in the Aramaic dialects and in the Arabic."<sup>4</sup> These statements are admitted to be true but we deny that they indicate that the document containing the word is (as Dr. Driver claimed) shown thereby to have been written subsequent to the age of Nehemiah.<sup>5</sup>

1. For, first, the noun *zōhar* ("brightness") occurs in this same verse and nowhere else in the Old Testament, except in Ezekiel viii, 2. If the root could not have been known in this sense to a Hebrew writing about 535 B.C., how could it have been known to one who, like Ezekiel, wrote in the first half of the same century?

2. Secondly, that the root elsewhere in the Old Testament has the meaning of "warn," and in the Aramaic of the Targums and Talmud has the additional meaning of "be

<sup>2</sup> LOT. 505-7; De Wette-Schrader, *Einleitung*, 499. These six words are: וָהָרַר, וָהָרַר, וָהָרַר, וָהָרַר, וָהָרַר, and וָהָרַר.

<sup>3</sup> LOT. 507.25.

<sup>4</sup> *Commentary on Daniel*, 202.

<sup>5</sup> LOT 506.

bright" or "shine," does not prove that when used in the latter sense in Daniel and Ezekiel it is borrowed from the Aramaic. For in the Old Aramaic also it always has the meaning "warn."<sup>6</sup> That Ben Sira uses it in the same sense as that used in Ezekiel, and Daniel is in favor of its being a good Hebrew word, and furnishes us with the fourth example of the use of the root in Old Hebrew in the sense of "bright" or "to be bright," all occurring at least 350 years before the earliest use of the word in Aramaic in this sense.

3. Thirdly, it is manifest that to express the idea of "being light" or "giving light" Daniel might have used here אור as in ix. 17 or זרה, a derivative of which he uses in viii. 9; xi. 14; or נצה or נבה, which roots he employs in vi. 4, and 20, or אהל Job. xxv, 2 (of the moon), or יפע, הלל, נצץ, or צהר, as Eccles. xxxvi, 27; xliii, 19; and xliii, 3. But can any critic tell us that the word he does use is not the most proper and technical expression for the *shining of the stars*? In Arabic the root *zahara* is used of steamships and other objects appearing above the horizon.

4. But, fourthly, even if it were true that the word was used in the sense "to shine" nowhere but in Daniel xii, 3 and in the Aramaic, this cannot be claimed as indicating a date subsequent to Nehemiah, unless we are willing to put every document of the Old Testament in the same period of time. For every book of the Old Testament contains such words; and hence, if the argument were valid, every book of the Old Testament would be late—an absurdity, which the critics themselves would be the first to deny.

Thus in Isaiah i-xxxix we find of such words גרר (17, 6), הפך (29, 16), חור (29, 22), טאטא and מטאטא (14, 23), ירע (15, 4), לילית (34, 14), גיציץ (1, 31); and in xl-lxvi, גשש (59, 12<sup>bis</sup>), מצץ (66, 11), and מתח (40, 22); eleven words in all. In Jeremiah we find ביר (6, 7), רמע (13, 17<sup>bia</sup>), חנות (37, 16), יקר (31, 20), ציר (16, 16), מרגוע (6, 16). In Ezekiel we find חוב (33, 30), חר (32, 2, 13<sup>bis</sup>), רלח (5, 1), גלב (28, 22), אילגביש (13, 11), טעה (13, 10), כחל (23, 40), מרירות (21, 11), סחרה (27, 12, 15, 16, 18), שוט (16, 57; 28, 24, 26), משוט (27, 29, 45, 7), קרם (37, 6, 8), רסס (46, 14), שוט (21, 3), משטח (26, 5, 14); sixteen words in all. In JE we find נכית (Gen. 50, 4), ולר (Gen. 11, 30), זעה (Gen. 3, 19), חמר (Gen. 11, 3), חמש (Gen. 47, 26), חנט (Gen. 50, 3), לבן (Gen. 49, 12), לין (Gen. 30, 37), לטש (Gen. 4, 22), קר (Gen. 8, 22), שיח (Gen. 2, 5), שפיפון (Gen. 49, 17), אכטיח (Nu. 11, 5), בצל (Nu. 11, 5), דון (Nu. 11, 8), נכות (Gen. 35, 8),

<sup>6</sup> E.g., the Ethpaal occurs in AR 237. Ka. I; 401. 3 (*Ephemeris*, II) and in the Sachau Papyrus, 6, 6 and possibly 13, 12; and the Aphel in the Papyrus, 55, 2.



טען (Gen. 45, 17), סלם (Gen. 28, 12), עקר (verb, 22, 9), עקר (adj., Gen. 30, 35, 39, 40; 31, 8<sup>bis</sup>, 10, 12), פתר (ten times in chaps. 40 and 41), שרף (Gen. 41, 6, 23, 27), שחרו (Gen. 31, 47), שחט (Gen. 40, 11), רמע (Ex. 22, 28), ונגח (Ex. 21, 29, 36), צלל (Ex. 15, 10), בחרים (Nu. 11, 28), עניו (Nu. 12, 3); 29 words. In Zephaniah, we find נטיל (1, 11), צרה (3, 6), צרה (1, 14).

From the data just given it is evident that if the presence of זור in Daniel shows a late date the presence of words of like character in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zephaniah, and J E will show also that they are late—an absurd conclusion, to which the critics will be the first to make objection.

The absurdity of arguing that a word, whose form or root occurs but a few times in the Old Testament, indicates the lateness of the document, or documents, in which the word or root occurs, will be more manifest when we remember that about 3,000 such words are found in the Old Testament, of which about 1,500 occur but once. Such words are found in every work of the Old Testament, and in every document except 26 of the Psalms. That such words are not confined to the later documents will be seen from the following tables, which are based upon special concordances of the words occurring five times or under in the Old Testament. The first column gives the percentage of such words found in both New Hebrew and New Aramaic, *i. e.*, the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Targums and Talmud (NHA); the second, the percentage in New Hebrew alone (NH); and the third, the percentage in the New Aramaic of the Targums and Talmud alone (NA).

## THE HEXATEUCH

	NHA	NH	NA		NHA	NH	NA
J .....	.241	.444	.265	H .....	.208	.500	.313
E .....	.227	.487	.277	P .....	.198	.531	.245
D .....	.201	.532	.318				

## THE MINOR PROPHETS

	NHA	NH	NA		NHA	NH	NA
Hos. ....	.169	.415	.323	Na. ....	.111	.167	.167
Joel ....	.207	.379	.207	Zep. ....	.290	.452	.419
Amos ....	.280	.460	.300	Hab. ....	.206	.382	.206
Jon. ....	.266	.400	.333	Hag. ....	.250	.250	.250
Ob. ....	.000	.143	.143	Zech. ....	.196	.353	.235
Mi. ....	.122	.265	.224	Mal. ....	.154	.231	.308

THE FIVE BOOKS OF THE PSALMS						
	NHA	NH	NA		NHA	NH NA
Book I .....	.195	.358	.260	IV .....	.164	.311 .295
II .....	.193	.311	.237	V .....	.203	.347 .254 <sup>7</sup>
III .....	.145	.303	.250			

THE SO-CALLED MACCABEAN PSALMS						
	NHA	NH	NA		NHA	NH NA
Ps. 44.....	.167	.500	.167	Ps. 79.....	.000	.333 .000
Ps. 74.....	.167	.534	.167			

THE GREATER PROPHETS						
	NHA	NH	NA		NHA	NH NA
Isa. (1st part) ..	.115	.128	.103	Jer. ....	.146	.321 .187
Isa. (2nd part) .	.161	.258	.194	Ezek. ....	.126	.272 .203

THE FIVE GREAT POEMS OF THE EARLY PERIOD						
	NHA	NH	NA		NHA	NH NA
Jud. 5.....	.158	.158	.158	Deut. 32.....	.320	.400 .480
Ex. 15.....	.444	.667	.556	Deut. 33.....	.273	.545 .364
Gen. 49.....	.286	.571	.428			

THE POST-EXILIC BOOKS						
	NHA	NH	NA		NHA	NH NA
Dan. ....	.250	.450	.400	Chron. ....	.173	.373 .280
Hag. ....	.250	.250	.250	Ezra ....	.286	.357 .357
Zech. ....	.196	.353	.235	Neh. ....	.250	.563 .275
Mal. ....	.154	.231	.308	Esther ....	.389	.519 .500

ALLEGED POST-EXILIC BOOKS						
	NHA	NH	NA		NHA	NH NA
Jonah .....	.266	.400	.333	Ecc. ....	.364	.571 .416
Joel .....	.207	.379	.207	Can. ....	.263	.556 .323

PARTS OF ISAIAH I-XXXIX						
	NHA	NH	NA		NHA	NH NA
xxiv-xxvii ....	.000	.000	.000	i-xii, xv-xxiii }		
xiii-xiv .....	.200	.200	.300	xxviii-xxxiii }	.100	.223 .157

OTHER BOOKS						
	NHA	NH	NA		NHA	NH NA
Judges }				Samuel }		
Ruth }	.163	.333	.219	Kings }	.173	.372 .217
Lament .....	.125	.250	.179	Proverbs .....	.208	.374 .276
				Job .....	.150	.310 .230

<sup>7</sup> The books of Psalms thus range in order of frequency as follows:

NHA: V, I, II, IV, III

NH: I, V, II, IV, III

NA: IV, I, V, III, II

PARTS OF PROVERBS								
	NHA	NH	NA		NHA	NH	NA	
I. i-ix .....	.159	.275	.217	IV. xxv-xxix. .	.283	.519	.385	
II. x-xxii. 16 ..	.213	.338	.203	V. xxx .....	.200	.533	.267	
III. xxii. 17-xxiv	.133	.367	.233	VI. xxxi .....	.125	.375	.375 <sup>8</sup>	

## CONCLUSION.

From the above tables it appears that the same kind of argument that is used by some to show the late date of Daniel might be used to prove the late date of most of the documents that all critics consider to be early. Also, it appears that Is. xxiv-xxvii, which some critics assign to past captivity times, and Psalm lxxix, which many assign to the Maccabean times, have not a single word of this kind. Thus, in the estimation of both conservative and radical critics, the presence or absence in a Hebrew document of words which occur besides in the Aramaic of the Targums and Talmud, is, as a matter of fact, not considered by them to be the determining factor in fixing the date. It should be demanded of all, that the same rule that is applied in settling the time of the composition of Daniel and Ecclesiastes should be applied to applied in the case of Isaiah xxiv-xxvii, Ezekiel, and other parts of the Old Testament. The writer of this note is of the mind that all such arguments as that based on the use of *הוזהיר* in Daniel xii, 3 should be expunged from books on Introduction to the Old Testament as the unscientific fancies of an age of ignorance.

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<sup>8</sup> That is, for the six parts of Proverbs the order of frequency is:  
 NHA: IV, II, V, I, III, VI  
 NH: V, IV, VI, III, II, I  
 NA: IV, VI, V, III, I, II

# REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

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## PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

*The New Revelation.* By ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE. Author of "The British Campaign in France and Flanders," etc. New York: George H. Doran Company. 1918. Pp. 122. \$1.00 net.

That the well-known author of *Sherlock Holmes* should adopt as his religion the intricate mysticism of modern spiritualism will surprise no one. From one point of view this is the specific vagary to which we would expect him to resort. *The New Revelation* tells the whole story. It has four brief chapters: The Search, The Revelation, The Coming Life, Problems and Limitations; with three "supplementary documents": The Next Phase of Life, Automatic Writing, The Cheriton Dugout.

The author might not claim to have made out a case for modern Spiritualism. He simply records his own findings and traces his own religious development. He makes no claim to any psychical power himself (p. 19). At first he was sorely disappointed, even disgusted with a claim which had the marks of fraud. Reassured by a General Grayson, a local pioneer in Spiritualism, he tried again. Slowly he was won from blank materialism to belief in a future life (p. 46).

The relation of this "new revelation" to the Christian religion is detailed. As we logically expect, "it would deeply modify conventional Christianity," not so much by contradiction as by explanation and development. It would reject vicarious sacrifice. It would make the fact of life after death absolutely certain (pp. 53-55). Yet it would in no way subvert any other religion (p. 98). A man may be a Hinduist, a Buddhist, a Mohammedan, or anything he pleases, and still continue a perfectly orthodox spiritualist, so long as he takes to the cardinal belief in communication with departed spirits.

With surprising bravado the steps in the new life are given. Gleaning the best conclusions he can from scattered data, the author tells exactly what the post-mortem experiences of the dead are. After death the individual finds himself in a spirit body which is "the exact counterpart of his old one," minus all disease, weakness, or deformity (p. 64). The passing is always easy and painless. These spirit-bodies are clothed, for modesty still abides; they live in communities, the male spirit finding his true mate (though there is no sexuality and no childbirth); and possibly even have the use of an excellent reference library (pp. 74-75). They do not know that they are dead, and sometimes it takes a long time for them to grasp it (p. 76). A period of sleep, sometimes very short, sometimes lasting for months, precedes the "new life." The cause of this temporary oblivion is a matter of

speculation. There is no hell, but a sort of purgatory, or punishment and purifying chastisement (pp. 65-68). Communications are usually from those recently deceased, the reason for this being that the spirits are mostly if not exclusively interested in their own loved ones here (pp. 72-73). Wherever the time element enters, the spirit communications are uncertain: "Their estimate of time is almost invariably wrong," possibly because "earth time" and "spirit time" differ (p. 90). Nor are communications easy to effect, because the spirit's ethereal senses of touch and sound are unable to make an impression upon the human organs of those not yet deceased, the latter being "attuned to coarser stimuli" (p. 65).

Conan Doyle espouses thoroughly his new faith. If he is not himself a medium, he is keeping in closest touch with those who have had manifestations. He says he is in present touch with thirteen mothers who are in correspondence with their dead sons, and the husband, where alive, is agreed as to the evidence (pp. 98-99). Spiritualism is to him "the central teaching of Christianity itself" (p. 60). His conclusion is, that, barring occasional fraud, there is more solid truth in it than in any other religious development, that the "stage of investigation is passed, and that of religious construction is overdue" (pp. 93-95).

In any fair estimate of this "new revelation" it is well to admit that the establishment of some connection with departed spirits is not *a priori* impossible. But it is such an extraordinary thing that we have a right to demand the most unimpeachable evidence for any and every alleged case of it. If this is a science that is to see greater development in the future, just now it is certainly one of which so far we have touched only the outer fringes. Even Conan Doyle admits that it is beset with uncertainty, with "problems and limitations." The great question which must be faced in every instance is: How do we know that we are not being deceived? What tangible evidence have we that such alleged "messages" are from the dead? What means of identification have we? Doyle faces this difficulty and answers: "We require signs which we can test before we accept assertions which we cannot test," and cites the remarkable testimonies of Stainton Moses, Miss Julia Ames, Raymond, and Mr. Arthur Hill (pp. 48-51. Cf. the account of the Cheriton dugout at the close). That some of these cases are very remarkable, cannot be denied. They are, however, of the same general type of occurrence as many of the so-called "gifts" and "miracles" of Romanism, and must be subjected to the same strenuous tests. Some of the instruments of communication are open to very serious question; as, for example, references to particular pages and lines of books in distant libraries, the sum-total of such references giving the message (p. 99). Such methods are clearly open to fraudulent implications, easily trapping the unwary and credulous. This is the severest reckoning that this "new revelation" must face—the *language* by which the thoughts of the deceased are transmitted to us. "You have to work warily," says the author. Indeed! The



conditions, he adds, are elusive, and there are no laws (pp. 99-100). Automatic writing, he grants, in its very nature is liable to self-deception (p. 112). The professional medium has his place, though almost every woman is an undeveloped medium (pp. 99-100). The practical recommendation to steep one's self in this subject does not help us much. We might become Romanists or Swedenborgians by this method, and then again we might not. The only way of accepting this claim of present-day communication with the dead that occurs to us, is not by reading books on it, however necessary that may be, but by the incontrovertible testimony of credible eyewitnesses and of our own experience in a personal communication with some one we know to be dead, at the same time being absolutely assured of our mental normality. In this subject the experience of others is not quite sufficient apart from our own.

An unfortunate part of Conan Doyle's booklet is his use of Scripture. To put it plainly, he garbles Scripture. For instance, 1 John 4:1, he says, "can only mean" that the early Christians practiced Spiritualism and were deceived by wicked and "mischievous intelligences" (p. 91. Cf. p. 60). Following Dr. Abraham Wallace, the Transfiguration is viewed as a psychical experience in which the contributing elements were Peter, James and John, "who formed the psychic circle when the dead were restored to life, and were presumably the most helpful of the group"; also the pure mountain air, the drowsiness of "the attendant mediums," the glittering robe, the cloud, the three booths or "cabinets," "the ideal way of condensing power and producing materializations,"—all the conditions necessary for a manifestation (p. 61). It is enough to say of this interpretation that it is obviously forced. To speak of the booths (*σκηνάς*) as "cabinets," is most farfetched. Furthermore, if the conditions here were so favorable, why should there not also have been a manifestation in the Garden of Gethsemane on the night of the betrayal, when the drowsiness of the same three apostles, the night air, and the associations of the spot, presumably were conditions not much less favorable? Again, to see in the apostolic charismata which Paul names in 1 Corinthians 12:8-11, "the gifts of a very powerful medium," is to ignore the context, which has nothing whatever to do with communications with departed spirits. Matthew 13:58, with its parallel, Mark 6:5-6, and Mark 5:30, with its parallel, Luke 8:45-46, are inaccurately quoted (pp. 59-61). In going to Scripture, it would have been more to the point to have quoted the classic instance of Saul and the necromancer of Endor (2 Samuel 28:3-25). Yet this was one of the causes of Saul's rejection (1 Chron. 10:13-14).

Here we reach another phase of Doyle's plea; namely, that in spiritualism we are not, as is often asserted, venturing on forbidden ground. He claims (pp. 43-45) that the possession of a power is an argument for its use. This has plenty of truth, but it is subject to moral supervision. We have the power of physical vision, yet there are some things that we are forbidden to look at. Demons

had some kind of faith, yet were not allowed to bear witness. Adam and Eve were forbidden to eat of the one tree, and serious consequences followed when they disobeyed. The Old Testament did prohibit the occult practice, and in view of the New Testament examples of Simon Magus, Elymas, and the Philippian maid (Acts 8:9-24; 13:6-11; 16:16-18), and the record of Lazarus and the rich man (Luke 16:19-31), whether parable or fact, it is hard to see how Conan Doyle can believe that "the early Christian Church was saturated with spiritualism" (p. 62).

But, when all is said, Conan Doyle is not concerned about a scriptural religion. He wants to walk by sight, not by faith (pp. 40, 71). He craves a "sign," and he wants it *now*. He says this new revelation would "confirm and make absolutely certain the fact of life after death, the base of all religion" (p. 53). But is this so uncertain that we have to inveigle some departed spirit back to earth to make sure of it? And when spirits did return, as, say, in the cases of Samuel and Lazarus, how vital and permanent a religion did it produce? We are here at the very heart of our criticism of Mr. Doyle. Whatever his "new revelation" is, it is *not* Christianity. Christian conviction is not sustained in this way. To the open-minded, Christianity has always had sufficient testimony. It needs no "new revelation." Well for us if we live by the revelation we already have! "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. . . . If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, if one rise from the dead" (Luke 16:29, 31). Let Conan Doyle and others find in the "new revelation" whatever comfort they may. Any one who prefers this vague, weird mysticism to the clear revelation of Scripture is welcome to it.

Scattered throughout the book will be found a helpful bibliography of the Spiritualist movement. As corrigenda the following should be noted: "derided" for "decided" (p. 18, last line); "my" for "by" (p. 28, last line); "is" for "are" (p. 30, line 18); "but" for "by" (p. 31, line 3); "are" for "is" (p. 76, line 5). Omit the "d" in "experienced" (p. 43, line 5).

Hillsboro, Ohio.

BENJAMIN F. PAIST, JR.

## APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY

*Religion and War.* By WILLIAM HERBERT PERRY FAUNCE, President of Brown University. The Abingdon Press: New York and Cincinnati. 8vo. pp. 188. 1918.

This interesting and brilliant volume is made up of the Mendenhall Lectures, Fourth Series, delivered at De Pauw University.

The titles of the six lectures are as follows:

1. "The Attitude of the Old Testament." 2. "The Attitude of the New Testament." 3. "The Pacifism of the Rationalists." 4. "The

Moral Leadership of the Church." 5. "Light in the Cloud." 6. "The Rebuilding of the World."

The general position taken with regard to war is that "Christianity abhors and rejects war as a settlement of disputes or a means of progress. It knows a finer, nobler way of reaching momentous decision. Yet Christianity has no opposition to governments maintained by force or to the protection of weakness by strength" when that is the only way open (pp. 67-68).

To say that these lectures are as eloquent as they are true would be to say only what every one acquainted with President Faunce would expect. To say that in these lectures he has surpassed himself would be to give the highest praise, but it would be only just praise. In our judgment his discussion of "Religion and War" is the best that has been given. Certainly it is the best that has come under the eye of the reviewer. This, however, does not assert perfection. Indeed, there are three lines along which these lectures are open to serious criticism.

1. Their view of Scripture is not only far from conservative, but it is confused. Our author rightly sets aside and almost ridicules the position that the Bible is "a solid block of revelation," "every sentence divinely uttered," "a single book without inner development of thought"; but he fails to see that this position differs *toto coelo* from the one that, though not throughout or even for the most part revealed from God, yet the whole Bible has been so supervised or inspired by him as to be even in its record of mistakes the infallible because errorless expression of his mind and will for man.

2. These lectures scarcely do justice to the Church. Beyond doubt her moral leadership has not been what it should have been. Where, however, do we find moral leadership that has equaled hers? Would the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. ever have been dreamed of but for the Church? Nor is it against the Church that these valued institutions are doing a work which she is not doing and in which she has often failed. May it not be that our author is again guilty of confusion and has confounded their work with hers? Her supreme functions are "prayer and the ministry of the word." She cannot discharge these as she should, if she takes on the work of other institutions; and it is largely because she has done this or tried to do it that she has not been the moral leader that she might have been and ought to have been.

3. The most serious defect of the whole book, however, is its determined and almost bitter depreciation of Christian doctrine. "The church must be composed of all Christlike men, of every race and faith and name. To share in the Christian purpose is the only qualification for membership" (p. 171). But how can there be a Christian purpose without a knowledge of what Christ's purpose is, and how can this knowledge be independent of all that he has revealed concerning himself? In a word, ethics and dogma are inseparable. "Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness: that the man

of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work" (2 Tim. iii: 16, 17). This must be the key-note of the new era if the world is to be so rebuilt as not to need another rebuilding.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

*Philosophy and the War.* By RALPH TYLER FLEWELLING, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Southern California. The Abingdon Press: New York, Cincinnati. 12vo. pp. 74. 1918.

As another has well said, this is "a strong arraignment of German Philosophy, which precipitated the World War. The worship of power and the over-emphasis upon *things* are traced to their proper source—the *Denial of Personalism*. A clear and cogent putting of truth." The reviewer is disposed to take exception to this criticism at one point only. Why does the author, in common with many others, welcome as one of the surest and best results of the war the doing away with creeds and confessions and the concentration of belief on "the simple essentials of Christian life and faith"? Such syncretism is against personalism, it is not the fruit of it. It would indicate less zeal, too, for the truth as such and less efficiency in the service of him who is "the truth." It was a great Scotch Scotchman who said, "No mere simplification of a belief has ever conquered unless the half has burned more brightly than the whole."

*The Philosophy of Christian Being.* By WALTER E. BRANDENBURG, A.M. Boston: Sherman, French and Company. 8vo. pp. vii. 148. 1917.

"The chapters of this volume have been constructed out of sermon material, begotten by a yearning desire to convince doubters, answer disbelievers, and confirm Disciples of Christ." "Mr. Brandenburg's trained mind, ardent love of research and genuine motive to serve make his book worthy of study."

With the above statements of President T. N. McCash of Phillips University, Enid, Oklahoma, the reviewer is in accord. It seems to us, however, to be only just to the author as well as to ourselves to add:

1. We cannot, with the author, accept the absolute idealism of Professor Royce as true and scriptural.
2. We find the power of Christ's resurrection in his Deity and not in his human body.
3. It is not the fact that only the Apostles were created new men in Christ Jesus: it is the fact that whoever comes into the kingdom must, in like manner, be "born again."

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

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## EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY

*The Oracles of God.* A Popular Introduction to The Old Testament Scriptures for the use of Bible Students. Part one—Old Testament. SAMUEL A. MARTIN, D.D., Professor of Philosophy in

Lafayette College. Boston: Richard G. Badger; Toronto: The Copp Clark Co., Limited [Copyright, 1916]. Pp. 292. Price \$1.50 net.

This "popular introduction" excels. It is sensible in the interpretation of the Scriptures, is calm in statement, and is well written. It may with profit be read rapidly or pondered paragraph by paragraph. For a space there is a fall from the high level of excellence maintained by the book. The parts devoted to the ritual of the tabernacle and to the Hebrew prophets as a class are inferior, and the high level of the book is not quite recovered in the presentation of the messages of the individual prophets.

The comfort of the reader is unfortunately disturbed by two pervasive features of the book. One is found in the form of statement, and is due to the constant use of the superlative degree. Such habit of exaggerated expression soon palls. It leads to questioning the author's judgment. Instead of strengthening, it weakens.

The other disturbing feature is due partly to the writer, more largely to the printer; and is particularly deplorable in a book designed for use as a text-book by Bible classes. Sufficient pains have not been taken to present the proper names in correct form. Obadiah and Revelation are given incorrectly in the list of Old Testament books (p. 13); incorrect spelling of the names Baal (p. 164), Ashtaroth (p. 220), Balaam (p. 188), Zechariah (pp. 113, 286), Tahpanhes (p. 142), Amalekites (p. 205), also occurs, and Jeroboam's name is always misspelled (pp. 158, 159, 174, 213). Notably are quotations from the Bible muddled. Not to mention ordinary typographical errors, often the plural is used where the biblical writer has employed the singular, or the singular where the plural has been used by the biblical writer (for examples see pp. 117, 119, 121, 245). The printer, moreover, seems not to know that the final syllable of the verb in the second person singular is *est*, or ends in *t*. Almost, if not quite invariably he insists that the syllable should be *eth*; and he offers such unnatural, monstrous forms as "thou knoweth," "thou mocketh," etc. (pp. 246, 248, 252, 277; also "shall thou," "are thou," pp. 35, 237). Important words, too, are omitted from cited passages, sometimes to the destruction of sense and sentence (pp. 115, 121, 222, 267, 276). Once where the chapter and verse of the Old Testament prophecy are given, the words are quoted not from the prophet himself, but from the New Testament, in the form used by the evangelist, and even then not quite literally (p. 115). Two brief quotations from the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians, among the earliest citations in the book, show the prevalent lack of attention to accuracy. In each of them the apostle is made to say what he did not say (p. 25). Slovenliness is the fitting word to employ in speaking of this distressing feature of the book.

The excellence in matter is so great that the book deserves and will reward wide popular use. It is profitable.

*Princeton.*

JOHN D. DAVIS.



*The Evolution of the Hebrew People* and their Influence on Civilization. By LAURA H. WILD, Professor of Biblical History and Literature in Mt. Holyoke College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1917. Pp. xi. 311. Price \$1.50 net.

An ambitious book. In tracing Hebrew origins the beginning is made with the ancestors of man upon the earth. At once the region of surmise is entered. Facts regarding the prehistoric period are known; but of necessity much is theory, and the theories are in constant flux. The structure of the book rests upon insecure foundations. As illustrations of the ephemeral character of these early chapters, in view of recent investigations the authoress would scarcely speak now of *Pithecanthropus erectus* as man (pp. 30, 46), and would doubtless make a different statement than she does regarding totemism.

On reaching the Israelites and tracing the development of that people, the authoress adopts the fundamental position of the school of Wellhausen, and builds her narrative on that base. This procedure is, of course, quite legitimate. The reader, however should be cognizant of this fact at the outset. It may be added that so far as the secular aspects of civilization are concerned much the same story of the social development of the Israelites can be told by writers belonging to the two other schools of biblical criticism.

In the description of Jewish society in the later period the opinions of individuals of the school, not the consensus, gives tone to the picture. This, too, is legitimate; but it is important for the reader to be aware that in matters of detail he is apt to be reading the opinions of a coterie, or even of one person, within the school, and not the common and essential teaching of the school.

*A Prophet of the Spirit.* A Sketch of the Character and Work of Jeremiah. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, Professor of Old Testament Literature and Religion, Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Colorado. The Methodist Book Concern: New York, Cincinnati. 1917. Pp. 128. Price 75 cents net.

Jeremiah and his times are presented here as viewed by an influential school of criticism. It should be added that the author reveals crude notions of the teaching of the Church regarding Holy Scripture.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

*The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings.* Their Origin, Contents, and Significance. By FREDERICK CARL EISELEN, Professor of Old Testament Interpretation in Garrett Biblical Institute. The Methodist Book Concern: New York, Cincinnati. 1918. Crown 8vo. Pp. 348. Price \$1.75 net.

This volume represents the third in a series of books intended to form an introduction to the entire Old Testament. The second volume will be devoted to *The Prophets*. The first, on *The Books of the Pentateuch*, was noticed in the January number of this REVIEW for the year 1917, in pages 166-178. Of the present volume the earlier chapters present matters recognized as facts by all students of the

Scriptures, and in general will give satisfaction; but the later chapters are marked by partisanship, and disclose scant acquaintance with the literature of the subject.

A remark made concerning Pss. ix and x may properly receive a brief explanatory comment. The author, speaking concisely, says that "in Psalms 9—10, 37, two two-line stanzas are given to each letter, the characteristic letter standing at the beginning of the first of the four lines" (p. 31). The statement by reason of its conciseness is liable to convey misinformation. For as the two psalms, ix and x, exist the statement regarding the initial letter is true only in respect to ix. 2-6, 8-18, x. 12-17; that is, for twelve of the twenty-one [twenty-two] consonants of the Hebrew alphabet. Stanzas beginning with *daleth* and *samech* are certainly missing; and also, in Dr. Briggs judgment, those beginning with *he* and *kaph*. By alteration of the verse divisions in Ps. x. and a single transposition (placing 3<sup>b</sup> after 5<sup>b</sup> and before 7 and 8<sup>b</sup>) the sequence *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, *ayin* may be obtained; and *tsade* is conjectured from the Septuagint. Furthermore, in the present Hebrew text four lines, neither more nor fewer, do not invariably accompany each existing initial consonant; but greater symmetry in this respect is yielded by a critical text which though not final is yet founded on plausible conjecture.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

*Het Evangelie van Lucas.* Door PROF. DR. J. DE ZWAAN, Hoogleraar aan de Ryksuniversiteit te Groningen. J. B. Wolters' U.M.—Groningen, Den Haag. 1917. Pp. 148. Prys f. 1.90. By subscription f. 1.40. (Tekst en Uitleg, no. 4.)

This little volume is the fourth instalment of the series of brief commentaries issued under the editorship of Dr. Van Veldhuizen. The three preceding issued (Mark, Matthew, Romans) were noticed by us on former occasions. The present exposition is constructed on the same general plan. After a short isagogical orientation, an original rendering of the text is given, and as a third part follows the exposition. Dr. De Zwaan modestly restricts the scope of his work to the effort of "putting the reader of our time there where the first readers stood." We doubt whether this is a sound hermeneutical principle; at any rate it ought to have been formulated objectively: to convey to the modern reader what Luke desired to convey to his first readers, and doubtless this is what is meant by the author himself. Of the task of making us understand what the first readers will not have been able to apprehend he absolves himself and also disavows every effort to control the writer as to his fidelity to the facts. The compendious nature of the work obviously made these restrictions inevitable. In reality, of course, it is not easy to carry out such a self-denying programme. It is not impossible to guess from certain comments what are the author's theological affiliations and propensities. It is only fair to say that this is not due to any conscious effort on his part to inject them. As an exegete Dr. De Zwaan reveals a cer-

tain originality. As an illustration we may mention the import attributed to Satan's words in the second temptation (Luke's sequence). These are interpreted as an offer on Satan's part to become Jesus' Wazir in the administration of the world. This, on the ground that at this point of the temptation Satan cannot, in Luke's opinion, have had any further doubt as to Jesus' refusal to become Satan's Wazir. We do not see that his ingenious inversion of what the words naturally suggest, to any extent solves the psychological problem of this stage of the temptation. Could Luke have ascribed to Satan any doubt as to the refusal of Jesus to accept him as his Wazir? A no less interesting and more entertainable suggestion is that in the parable of the Samaritan the priest and the levite turn aside from fear of defilement through contact with what might possibly turn out to be a dead body. As worthy of note we further quote the observation that the lost penny of the woman cannot have formed part of an amulet, or bridal necklace because the text speaks of drachmae, which were stamped with a heathen image rendering them to a Jewish woman unfit for such an intimate purpose.

In connection with the difficult problem of Luke's account of the Supper, the author for a moment indulges in a critical digression. He favors the view that vs. 19, 20 were lacking in Luke's original writing. Luke mentions the first passover-cup, passes over the second cup, then introduces the breaking of the bread with the solemn words "this is my body." This seems to imply that the cup mentioned in vs. 17 was the ordinary passover-cup, not the cup of the new sacrament, to which later in the account, after the excision of 19b, 20, no reference is made. The author suggests that Luke on purpose avoided giving a clear, articulated description of the institution of the Supper, because he did not want to convey to non-Christian readers the impression that Christianity was a new religious cult with its own cult-actions, the latter being the criterion of a new religion and a new religion being forbidden.

Enough has been said to show that the exposition is suggestive. If at certain points it proceeds to a point of compactness which puts it in need of some exegesis of its own, this is hardly the fault of the author, but due to the limitations of the scheme under which he was working.

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

*Het Eeuwige Leven by Paulus. Een Godsdienst-historisch Onderzoek.*  
Door JOHAN THEODOOR UBBINK. By J. B. Wolters' U.M.—  
Groningen, Den Haag, 1917. Pp. 174, lxx f. 250.

This is a dissertation offered for the degree of Doctor of Theology in the University of Groningen in The Netherlands. It is a dissertation of more than average value and importance, both because of the live subject it deals with and because of the wide reading and mature judgment which it reveals on almost every page. Its purpose is to compare Paul's eschatological teaching with the corresponding beliefs

of the Graeco-Roman pagan world of his time. Eschatology is taken not with restriction to the collective historical developments at the end but as including the individual destiny after death. It is true this does not quite reproduce the Pauline point of view, since the Apostle's eschatological interest centers on the conclusion of the world-drama and passes lightly over the problems of the intermediate state. Strictly speaking the title "eternal life" applies in Paul's language to the final state only, so that it can hardly cover the discussion of what falls before the parousia. Inasmuch, however, as to the pagan mind the center of interest lay in the state after death, and a comparison is aimed at, the slight deflection from the Pauline angle of vision involved may be readily pardoned.

The subject is dealt with in three chapters. In the first, "the Pauline data" are set forth by means of an exegetical summary of the chief eschatological contexts. In the second chapter the belief or disbelief in immortality, and the views in regard to the future state prevailing among the Apostle's contemporaries are examined. The third chapter, containing the backbone of the book, institutes a detailed comparison between the facts brought to light in chapters one and two.

Of these three divisions the first is the least satisfactory. The exegetical and biblico-theological discussion of the material ought to have been more searching and comprehensive. The author does little more than summarize what the commentaries offer. Unfortunately in regard to the great eschatological passages such as 1 Thess. iv. and 2 Cor. v no consensus has been reached among the exegetes and a perusal of the commentaries is apt to leave the student more bewildered than instructed. The author does not pause to help him out; yet we think his help being that of a specialist on a concrete subject, might have been valuable. We should like to learn e.g. what was the precise cause of the perplexity of the Thessalonians when some from among them had died. It had to do with the relation of these to the parousia, but how? Was it ignorance or unbelief of the resurrection? Or was it the chiliastic consideration that the dead, while sure to be raised, might not be in time to share in the provisional Messianic kingdom? There is a real difficulty here, but it is neither clearly stated, nor seriously attacked. The Chiliastic exegesis as advocated by Schmiedel, is passed by in silence. At a later point (p. 136) the "not-sorrowing even as do the rest who have no hope" is explained of merely the mode and excess in demonstrativeness of pagan mourning. This seems to reject by implication the view as though the Thessalonians could have mourned from the same motive as the pagans did i.e. because they had no hope. A possible exegesis, but not beyond need of argument to establish it. It is not sufficient to appeal to the words "who have no hope" as implying that the Thessalonians had hope. The question precisely is whether this means in the mouth of Paul: "I know, ye have reason to hope" or "you know you have hope"? But granting that they were familiar with the idea of the resurrection and



believed in the doctrine taught them by Paul, the problem becomes a very pressing one, how in the presence of such faith can their excessive pagan-like grief be accounted for? The author himself acknowledges that the Thessalonians were not troubled about the intermediate state of their dead as such. The trouble related to their presence at the parousia. And he also observes, though he finds it strange, that Paul does not comfort his readers with the uninterrupted communion between Christ and their "sleeping ones," but with the certainty of the resurrection. We confess that this seems to us to drive straight into the arms of the chiliastic exegesis. That seems to offer the only possibility of understanding the coexistence in the same minds of belief in the resurrection and perplexity about the dead. Or if that is impossible, as perhaps it is, and as certainly the author seems to think, since it is neither mentioned nor considered, ought it not to make us pause, before we reject the only other clearly conceivable alternative, and assert that ignorance or unbelief of the resurrection in people taught by Paul is *à priori* excluded?

Somewhat similar strictures might be made in regard to the exegetical resumé given of the passage 2 Cor. v, 1 ff. The difference is that here Dr. Ubbink succeeds in giving a fairly lucid version of the import of the passage, which he himself characterizes as a *crux interpretum*. As a matter of fact the explanation is too lucid to be readily accepted: it gets rid of the *crux* too easily. It is obtained at the cost of identifying the ἐνδύσασθαι of vs. 2 with the ἐπενδύσασθαι of verses 2 and 4. The main warrant for doing this would seem to be the comparison with 1 Cor. xv:53, where the ἐνδύσασθαι "putting on" is used as equally applicable to the raised and to those found living at the parousia. The observation is correct, but it does not prove that in the situation of 2 Cor. v likewise the two terms can have been used interchangeably. In 1 Cor. xv the subject of the sentence is the body, "this corruptible and this mortal." When the investment with the new body is described with the old body as the subject, the figure is naturally that of a simple "putting on." On the other hand, where it is conceived, as in 2 Cor. v, with reference to the pneumatic person, and the desire is expressed that no laying aside of the old body may be necessary, the figure as naturally assumes the form of "putting on over." A difference between the two terms is clearly implied in the contrast between ἐκδύσασθαι (correlate of ἐνδύσασθαι) and ἐπενδύσασθαι in vs. 4, which latter is illustrated by the further figure of "the mortal being swallowed up by the life." It is in this difference between the simple and the double compound verb that the *crux* of the passage lies, and also the key to the main import of it. Paul's instinctive preference for survival till the parousia expressed in the former half of the pericope rests on it. As an equivocal term equally applicable to both parts of the alternative, the word ἐνδύσασθαι was ill-suited to express this preference clearly. We do not know what authority the author has for making the ἐπι in this verb "intensive." The comparison with γιγνώσκειν and ἐπιγιγνώσκειν is not convincing,



because *γλγνώσκειν* denotes an action with which intensity is easily associated, which is by no means the case with *ἐνδύσασθαι*. One does not intensively put on a garment.

These are, however, considered within the structure of the book as a whole, minor matters. The second and third chapters are far more essential and on the whole eminently satisfactory. The former gives a careful survey of the pagan state of mind in regard to personal immortality in the age of Paul. It is a most interesting picture the author draws for us of the mentality of the ancient world in regard to this greatest of all problems. First the sepulchral inscriptions, then the literary documents and in the third place the mystery-cults are reviewed. The impression created by this survey, even before the comparison with the Pauline doctrine is formally drawn, is that of extreme dissimilarity and oppositeness. Not only were the opinions hopelessly divergent, they were also in their majority dismally pessimistic and to no small extent of a down-right sceptical tenor. In the sepulchral inscriptions even the hopes of the Eleusinian and other mysteries find but an infrequent and weak echo. Only in connection with the Egyptian cult a more positive and assertive hopefulness expresses itself in the desire that Osiris may give his confessors to drink of "the cool water" of life. Chronologically considered the inscriptions of the earlier period reflect a more hopeful outlook than the later ones. From the Third Century B.C. onwards doubt and uncertainty rapidly increased, and especially during the time of the empire the prevailing note became one of scepticism. Hence such epitaphs as: "I was not, I came into being, I was, I am not, such is life, if one shall say differently he lies," the last clause introducing a queer note of dogmatic emphasis into the otherwise sceptical utterance. Another inscription to the same effect closes, more in keeping with itself, with the words "I do not care." The grave is viewed as *aeterna domus*. Tears are not encouraged, for what could they profit? Fate is inexorable. The only defense that the pagan mortal of Paul's day had to oppose to the hopelessness of death was the consideration that *fama nescit obire*. So far as the individual is concerned this was the poorest of all conceivable weapons, since death itself prevents the possessor of fame from having either knowledge or enjoyment of it.

The results are not very much different when gathered from the philosophical religious and poetical literature. The same phenomena recur: no unity of conviction, a tangle of ideas bristling not only with contrasts but with contradictions, unanimity only where the point of scepticism and negation is reached. From Homer's "Do not comfort me with death" to Catullus' "*Nox est Perpetua una dormienda*," there is a continuity of this negative, at its best resigned, attitude. At the other extreme, where belief in a better state existed, suicide was sometimes resorted to as a means of more quickly attaining unto it. But suicide from a purely despondent motive was also systematically practised. The negative state of mind seems to have been stronger in

Rome than in Greece and Asia Minor, a difference explained from the deeper moral decadence of the West. The older Stoics at least taught a temporary persistence of the soul until the next world-conflagration, but even this was extended by part of the school to the wise only. The Epicurean position is strikingly defined by the saying of the Master: "Death has nothing to do with us; so long as man is there death is not; when death is there man is not." Only the middle and later Stoa and the neo-Pythagoraeans returned to the teaching of Plato, although even here Panaetius managed to combine with Platonism the denial of every kind of immortality. Seneca is in turn a sceptic and a believer. Death is *aut finis aut transitus*. Epictetus is most emphatic in his absolute negation. And, whatever view may be taken of the destiny of the soul, all join together in the dualistic depreciation of the body, which finds such characteristic expression in the epigram  $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha = \sigma\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha$ . The body has no future and no hope of any kind. As to the state of the soul after death—where one is contemplated—it is noteworthy that both Greeks and Romans appear better acquainted with hell than with heaven. The descriptions of the torments of the wicked are clearer and more detailed than those of the conditions in Elysium. Fear was evidently a more active factor than hope in shaping eschatological belief. The Orphic pictures of Tartarus from the time of Paul are quite Dantesque in their elaborateness and vividness. What there is of concrete delineation of the state of blessedness is more or less sensually colored.

A distinct view of the future state was developed in connection with the astrological belief which gained wider currency about the beginning of our era, but had points of contact in earlier Hellenic belief about the metamorphosis of heroes into brilliant constellations, the so-called "*Katasterism*." This was Oriental in its origin, based on the view that earthly life is under the inexorable *régime* of planetary fate, the *Heimarmene*. Here we meet with the idea of the celestial journey. It occurs in two forms, the one conceiving of the journey through space to the higher regions as unobstructed, the other representing the same as delayed through a sojourn in the intermediate stations, each planet requiring back of the spirit what it had communicated to it of its own substance in the original earthward descent of the latter. The highest goal is deification. The goal, however, was not open to all, but only to the intellectual, the cultivated, the élite of mankind. The public at large were left to themselves. It was this exclusivism that drove the non-aristocratic in such large numbers into the mystery-cults, where no class-distinctions were recognized.

In discussing the mysteries the author confines himself for the purpose of comparison to the Eleusinian, the Dionysian-Orphic and the Osiris-Serapis cults. Heedful of the warnings of Cumont and others, he hesitates to follow Reitzenstein and Bousset, and declares the question how much of the Second Century belief and practice already existed in Paul's time unripe for and perhaps incapable of decision. To Bousset's contention that it is not a question of dependence on

any single cult but of general atmosphere, he quite properly replies that this general atmosphere is largely the hypothetical product of carrying back the later data into the Pauline period on the principle that they cannot suddenly have sprung into being, but must have an older history. The question, however, persists, whether in this older stage they were already able to impregnate the atmosphere in such a pervasive sense that an influence on Paul becomes plausible. The syncretistic form of these cults Paul certainly did not know and could not have been affected by. To be sure, there was long before Paul's time a chronic mysticism in the Eastern provinces. But its exact physiognomy is still undetermined and perhaps indeterminable. The thesis that before Paul's time already the vegetation-god of the mythical cults had developed into a divine redeemer and saviour, who dies and rises again for the benefit of his worshippers is incapable of proof. All mythical inducements notwithstanding, the mentality of the Greeks remained predominantly auto-soteric. It should be noted, however, that, while not favoring the hypothesis of a material influence of the mystery-religions in Paul, the author does not deny that certain technical terms might have been borrowed from this source and filled by the Apostle with a new content. But even in that case it remains possible that the borrowing was from the fund of the common language and not direct from the mysteries.

In the third chapter the various aspects of Paul's eschatological teaching are compared with the pagan beliefs with a view to testing the likelihood of dependence. The beginning consists of an excellent discussion of the Pauline conception of God with its pronounced redemptive features. Against the Stoic humanitarian doctrine that all men are children of God Paul places the soteric sonship of believers. Paul had a profound conviction of sin, paganism had not. This makes all the difference in the complexion of eschatological ideas. Those of Paul are God-centered, profoundly religious, cultivated for the sake of God and with a thirst after God; those of the Graeco-Roman world lack this character entirely. The extreme individualism of the one and the collectivism of the other has its root in the same difference. Paul sums up the future in "the Kingdom of God." And, most of all, the eschatology of Paul has a historical, dramatic, redemptive background, an element which was utterly lacking in the Greek belief.

As to the anthropological structure of the eschatology Paul expected a restoration *in integrum* of the entire man, soul and body; the Greek mind attached value to the soul only. The section in which this is set forth brings an interesting discussion of the contrast *ψυχικός* vs. *πνευματικός*. The author rejects Reitzenstein's and Bousset's derivation of the term *ψυχικός* from the idea that from the mystes through the entrance of the *pneuma* the soul is expelled, so that actually the man has ceased to exist as man and has become a god = *πνεῦμα*. In rejecting this, he offers a highly ingenious and, so far as we are aware, original explanation of his own. It consists in this that Paul in the two contexts where *ψυχικός* occurs as equivalent to *σαρκικός* and as

opposed to πνευματικός (1 Cor. iii and xv), uses ψυχικός with semi-ironic reference to the unwarranted value placed upon the soul as such by the Greek mind. The "psychic" man would then practically amount to "that natural, sinful being to which as ψυχή you Greeks ascribe such an exalted nature." This explanation identifies σαρκικός in its ethical connotation with ψυχικός. Notwithstanding its striking novelty and its apparent suitability to the context of 1 Cor. iii, we hesitate to adopt it. Into 1 Cor. xv it certainly will not fit, for here Paul derives the "psychic" nature of the first man from creation which gives the term the dignity of marking a great historic contrast designed by God, so that ironical reflexion upon the Hellenic overestimate of the psyche is out of place. Paul, as we take it, here purposely avoids the equation ψυχικός = σαρκικός and that because σαρκικός is too suggestive of sin, whilst the antithesis here is purely that between creation and eschatology. The first man was χοικός not σαρκικός (as to his body). If in 1 Cor. iii ψυχικός and σαρκικός are actually used interchangeably, this is due to the elasticity of σαρκικός which can denote both the natural condition of man as such and his sinful natural condition but with a stronger association of the latter. Hence in a context where the emphasis rested on the incapability of the natural man to receive the pneumatic things of God and on the immaturity of the readers, which but little differentiated them from natural men, there was no need of carefully distinguishing ψυχικός and σαρκικός, since the "natural" when asserting itself as such against God and the "spiritual" actually passes over into the "fleshly." The new explanation might also give rise to the question whether the mere ἄνθρωποι, which takes the place of ψυχικοί and σαρκικοί in 1 Cor. iii, perhaps likewise contains an ironical allusion to the Hellenic pride in humanity as such. We dare say the author would not go so far as this. In passing we may remark that the contrast "men" and "pneumatic" is not nearly so strange in Scriptural idiom as it appears to us. The opposition of part of a genus to the whole because the part is possessed of a differentiating peculiarity, is found in such passages as Ps. lxxiii, 5, "they are not in trouble as men"; Jer. xxxii: 20, "both in Israel and among men." These, as lying nearer home, may be substituted for Zielinski's illustration from the contrast between *proletarius* and *assiduus* in Roman legal terminology (the former denoting one who has nothing but children; the latter one who has landed property, but may have children also).

The further sections of the third chapter deal in succession with the relation between eternal life and the present life, communion with Christ (the gift of the Spirit), the sacraments and eternal life, death, the intermediate state, the day of the Lord, the final state. We can only briefly touch upon a few points of interest. Dr. Ubbink rejects the theory of Charles, Teichmann and others who trace a clearly marked development in Paul's eschatological teaching. The main substance, he holds, must have been fixed at the conversion, so that, whatever influence from his milieu existed, would have to be placed



earlier than this. To the conversion itself he attaches great weight, although not explicitly deriving from it the equation Christ = Pneuma, as many seem inclined to do. We do not believe that such a psychological explanation really can accomplish what it is expected to do. None of the accounts of Paul's conversion so much as refers to the pneuma. What appeared to Paul was the glorified Christ. But this appearance as such would not carry with it the idea that the source of the glory lay in the pneuma. To import this on the basis that light = pneuma seems precarious. Of course, the case would become different, if we could assume that the close association between the eschatological-messianic life and the pneuma was antecedently given, but against this 2 Cor. v. 16 enters a protest. Paul distinctly characterizes his pre-Christian Messianic conception as sarkic and not pneumatic. That the author does not overkeenly feel the problem of accounting for Paul's peculiarly colored pneuma-concept both in its Christological and eschatological application, is due to his somewhat overeasy assimilation of the earliest Christian teaching on the pneuma to the Pauline doctrine. Over against the gulf which such writers as Gunkel and Bousset would fix between the two this is not difficult to understand. Pre-Pauline Christianity certainly must have had communion with the risen Christ and the Spirit must have played a rôle in this. It cannot have been a religion about the Christ, as Bousset would have it, but must have been one in fellowship with the Christ. But to affirm without more evidence that this was identical (we mean, of course, in concept not as to real exercise) with the Pauline "mystical union" through the Spirit, so that it expressed or could have expressed itself in the same terms is farther than we feel warranted to go. We do not mean to deny the possibility of the pre-Pauline existence of such teaching; what we wish to say is that no proof to that effect is forthcoming from the Book of Acts.

There are some other points over against which we have placed an interrogation mark. On p. 145 the author queries whether from Paul's point of view it is still accurate to speak of *ἀνάστασις* because this term can only relate to the body and the body is of a totally different substance, with the suggestion added that Paul for this reason consciously favored *ἐγείρειν* and *ἐγερθῆναι*. Or, on p. 146, the statement, that Paul does not systematize, is no apocalypticus, but a preacher of the Gospel. Again "the final judgment relates in the last analysis to this, whether man has been willing to let himself be endowed with the new life" (p. 150). Also the account (on p. 152) of the idea of a present judgment as causing the last judgment with Paul to lose its dramatic impressive character seems considerably overstated. The author further thinks it probable that Paul conceives of the final state of the wicked as a torment of the soul, implying that the punishment comes not *ab extra*, but is internal (p. 155). Is it quite true that Paul never works with the factor of "the terror of hell"? (*ibid*).

In conclusion we may call attention to the two instructive excursions on *δόξα* and the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* towards the close of the book. As



to the former it is contended that "splendor" is not the constant nor characteristic element in Paul's view of the δόξα. Δόξα and τιμή are not clearly separated. In 2 Cor. iii. 18, and iv. 16 δόξα is associated with and consists in γνῶσις. The combination of light and δόξα with the future life needs no concrete accounting for, being the common property of all nations and religions. As to the σῶμα πνευματικόν, the view that this idea represents a compromise between the Jewish resurrection-hope and the Hellenic immortality-belief is rejected. In Judaism there are already traces of an approach towards spiritualization of the resurrection-body and that even in Ap. Baruch usually quoted in proof of the materialness of the resurrection body as the ordinary Jewish view. Jesus also rejected the grosser Jewish expectation.

Enough has been said to convince the reader that in this by no means ordinary dissertation he will find a wealth of instruction on the complicated subject of the Pauline eschatology. Dr. Ubbink is a well-informed and, on the whole, safe guide. The notes appended to the text are copious and omit very little of importance in their references to the literature.

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

*The Acts of the Apostles.* The Greek Text Edited with Introduction and Notes for the Use of Schools. By W. F. BURNSIDE, M.A., Headmaster of St. Edmund's School, Canterbury, Author of *Old Testament History for Schools* and *St. Luke in Greek*. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1916.

In this serviceable brief commentary on the book of Acts, Mr. Burnside maintains the Lucan authorship and general trustworthiness of the book, though his estimate of certain portions of the narrative is hesitating and unsatisfactory, notably in connection with the coming of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. The discussion of the relation between the narrative in Acts and that in the Epistle to the Galatians is scarcely adequate. Mr. Burnside is inclined to identify the event of Gal. ii. 1-10 with the "famine visit" of Acts xi. 30, xii. 25. A somewhat fuller discussion of the question would have been desirable even in a book intended for the use of schools. The note on προσήλυτοι (Acts ii. 11) is misleading to say the least. "Proselytes", says Mr. Burnside (p. 88), "were not Jews by birth, but were attracted by the Jewish religion, and obeyed the Jewish law in certain particulars, but they were not circumcised. The Jewish nation did not admit of naturalization; it always has remained exclusive in its peculiar nationality." This note is erroneous at almost every point, and erroneous in a manner particularly unfortunate for the understanding of the book of Acts. An inaccuracy in detail may be noticed on p. xlvi, where it is said that the Codex Alexandrinus contains the whole of the Old and New Testaments.

Such defects diminish, though they do not destroy, the usefulness

of the commentary. The book appears in very attractive form, and is enriched by interesting facsimiles of manuscripts and by photographs.  
*Princeton.* J. GRESHAM MACHEN.

*The Virgin Birth of Jesus.* A Critical Examination of the Gospel Narratives of the Nativity, and other New Testament and Early Christian Evidence, and the Alleged Influence of Heathen Ideas. By G. H. Box, M.A., Lecturer in Rabbinical Hebrew, King's College, London; Hon. Canon of St. Albans. With a Foreword by The Lord Bishop of London. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co. [London: Sir Isaac Pitman Sons, Ltd., 1 Amen Corner, E. C., and at Bath, New York and Melbourne, 1916].

IN an interesting article published in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1905, pp. 80-101, Mr. Box sought to establish the thoroughly Jewish character of Matt. i, ii by comparing that narrative with the Jewish Midrashic literature.<sup>6</sup> In the present volume a similar argument is extended to the whole New Testament account of the birth of Jesus, and is enriched by a comprehensive treatment of the historical questions involved. The author believes, with Dr. Briggs, that the basis of our canonical infancy narratives is to be found in certain Jewish Christian poems, which, however, he is inclined to believe were written in Hebrew rather than in Aramaic, a comparison with the Psalms of Solomon being adduced at this point (see especially pp. 43-48). The Midrashic character of Matt. i, ii is still strongly maintained. Despite the poetical form which is attributed to the infancy narratives, they are by no means regarded as mere legend; on the contrary, what we have in the first two chapters of Matthew and Luke, according to Mr. Box, is throughout a poetic and idealizing expansion of actual fact. Indeed, the factual element is found to include all the important details of the narratives, the journey to Egypt, for example (though with some slight hesitation), as well as the virgin birth itself. With regard to the census of Quirinius, Mr. Box defends the essential correctness of the Lucan narrative, though he is somewhat inclined to look with favor upon a suggestion of Professor Burton that Luke has "confused the names of Saturninus and Quirinius." In considering "the alleged heathen sources," our author passes over the Greek parallels rather lightly, believing that they are deprived of all possible significance by the Jewish character of the canonical infancy narratives; and devotes his attention chiefly to the views of Gunkel, Gressmann and Cheyne, who find the basis for the Christian idea of the virgin birth in certain mythical representations which they suppose had already been naturalized in Palestinian Judaism in the pre-Christian period. The baselessness of such hypotheses is ably demonstrated, there being no evidence whatever for any pre-Christian Jewish belief in a virgin birth of the Messiah.

Despite certain concessions with regard to the historicity of the Gospel narratives in detail, Mr. Box is firmly convinced of the central

fact, and appreciates the fundamental importance of the fact for our Christian faith. To the defence of his position he has made contributory a thorough acquaintance with Jewish literature and at least a fairly adequate acquaintance with recent discussion. In discussing the birth of Jesus in the apocryphal gospels, he has apparently made no use of the comprehensive work of Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apocryphen*, 1909.

Princeton.

J. GRESHAM MACHEN.

## HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

*A History of the Christian Church.* By WILLISTON WALKER, Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1918. Crown 8vo, 624 pages. \$3.00 net.

This is an excellent one-volume sketch of the history of the Christian Church. It is unusually comprehensive for a work of this sort. Not only is the whole period from the birth of Christ to the present decade covered by this narrative, but the vast variety of topics is presented with a breadth of treatment that is not commonly found in a compendium. Scholarship, good judgment, and sympathy with the most diverse types of character and achievement are everywhere apparent. Frequent references to available source-books, such as Ayer, Gee and Hardy, Kidd, Henderson, and Schaff, will encourage and facilitate further investigation by readers interested in special phases of the story. The style, admirable in its clearness and vigor, is altogether free from the kinds of blemish, due chiefly to the desire of crowding a maximum of material into a minimum of space, which make so many "Outlines" and "Guides" utterly unreadable. Indeed, the book before us, barring some minor paragraphs that could not well have been expanded without giving them a disproportionate size, has throughout the charm of an engaging narrative. Moreover, as might have been expected from an author of Prof. Walker's attainments in historic science, the divisions of the material, with the many cross-references from section to section within a given period, faithfully reflect the approved results of investigation concerning the interaction of the leading forces that shaped the character and career of the Church in the different epochs. And this, after all, is the chief justification for such a compendious treatment of the whole history of the Church: it gives us what no monograph, or encyclopedia, or series of biographies can offer—a picture of the progressive development of Christianity as an organic whole. Here and there, perhaps, as in the account of the early Church, the number of horizontal divisions might with advantage have been reduced; a broader topical treatment would have made the causal connections even clearer than they now are.

The value of the work is enhanced by four maps, some thirteen pages of "Bibliographical Suggestions," and an excellent index.

Doubtless, some readers will be disappointed by some of the omissions and limitations inevitable in such a volume. While the claims of Christian dogma receive fair recognition, one may not expect to see the subject treated with adequate fulness. Here and there, as in the Reformation period, one might well have hoped to see political and social factors more largely introduced to help explain some of the changes that have befallen the Church. As usual in treatises of such conciseness, Christian art and worship get rather scant consideration. Again, while one cannot but admire the brief but suggestive characterizations of some of the actors in the scenes, one would often prefer that the author, at whatever cost, had enlarged the account of the inner religious life of some of the more notable leaders.

But on the whole, the writer must be said to have exercised good judgment in the selection of his materials and in the distribution of his emphasis. Especially is this the case in the latest, the most difficult period, that from the Reformation to the present day,—a portion of the volume that will prove specially helpful to many readers. To us the least satisfactory sections are those of the first period, "From the Beginnings to the Gnostic Crisis." One of the noticeable features here is the ready use of such phrases as "doubtless," "perhaps," "uncertain," "it is probable," and the like. We cannot but wish that such confessions of limited knowledge had been even more frequently made, especially in the realm of the author's somewhat too confident statements concerning the non-apostolic character of some of the New Testament books and their origin in the second century. In simple justice to the state of scholarly research in this field the name of Zahn ought certainly to be included among the "Bibliographical Suggestions" that are still worth while.

*Princeton.*

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

## PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

*The Valley of Decision.* A Plea for Wholeness in Thought and Life.

By the REV. E. A. BURROUGHS, Canon of Peterborough, Honorary Chaplain to H.M. the King, Author of "The Patience of God," "World Builders All," etc. Sixth impression. Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. 396.

This is one of the most serious and thought-producing books brought out by the great war. Others have written the story of the Training Camps and the dreadful experiences in the Trenches; of the first recruits who went over to the help of Britain's sorely pressed "Contemptible little army." Our author tells of the equally serious conditions which made England unprepared because of the need of a more "explicit idealism." The book is divided into three parts. Part I deals with "Philosophies in Practice," in which the author argues the importance of having a philosophy of life, the danger of "muddling through," the perils of a false philosophy, the moral consequences of



a practical atheism, religion the remedy for National and Individual sins, the vindication of Sunday. Part II "Man's extremity God's opportunity": the cause of the world catastrophe, moral and spiritual, the loss of the spiritual note in politics, the true democracy would be a Christian State, the penalties of the past. Under the head of "Some National Sins," there is a fearful arraignment of the English people for Sabbath-breaking, gambling, immorality and drunkenness. What is said of the moral problems and the army should make Americans thankful for the measures taken by our Government to safeguard the enlisted men. "The Failure of the Church" is a severe condemnation of both the Established and Free Churches. The Oxford Movement is characterized "as a case of wrong strategy." The author holds that there are only two possible explanations for the *debacle*: that it is due to fatality or to causation; and claims that the latter fully accounts for it. Because men have forgotten God they understand not that which has come upon them, and much less do they know where to find God. They cannot hear God speaking to them, for they will not draw near when God speaks. The chapter on "The Vindication of the Cross" is particularly impressive and stimulating. Part III is called "Via Crucis, Via Pacis." The story so insistently repeated by the soldiers, of the cross standing uninjured among the ruined tombstones, while perhaps an argument is not to be built upon it, does illustrate the truth that above the ruins of philosophies and theories of morals and economics the Cross stand as a conspicuous fact. The Great Revival of the Eighteenth Century was of national importance because led by men "who did not shrink from the crispness of religion," and the author asks earnestly, why not a similar revival to-day? It would be easy to quote much more, but these will show how suggestive the book is.

Perhaps not unnaturally, the constructive part of the book does not seem to be quite equal to the critical; it is always easier to point out the faults than to suggest a remedy.

The book is well worth while, and has most important lessons for us as we face the serious problems of reconstruction; and there is need that our Church heed the warning that organization can never take the place of vitality, and that the real power of the Church is in the Supernatural.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

*Ashbourne, Pa.*

*China. From Within.* Impression and Experiences. By CHARLES ERNEST SCOTT, M.A., D.D., Missionary of the Presbyterian Church, Tsingtau, China. Introduction by Rev. J. Ross Stevenson, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton Theological Seminary. Illustrated. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1917. Pages 327. \$1.75 net.

In this volume, Dr. Scott publishes his "Students' Lectures on Missions," delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1914-1915. The book is a fine contribution to an already worthy succession, revealing



a fund of up-to-date information with regard to the possibilities of China, at the same time setting forth the incessant and versatile toil of a ministry rich and blessed.

It is no new thing under the sun to say that China is moving;—and cleaning house, too. But there are certain phases of this movement and cleansing that Dr. Scott has especially illuminated. We all knew that China was old and vast. We knew that she had great resources. We knew that she was inventive long before others. We knew of her Great Wall and her Grand Canal. We did not know that the Chinese were a democratic people (p. 35). Nor were we prepared to hear that her extensive resources and opportunities constitute her "the only real rival of the United States" (p. 39). It was good news to hear from one who knows, that among their racial traits the Chinese possessed homogeneity and the power of assimilation; good also to have the missionary's idea of four of China's political leaders: Li Hung Chang, Chang Chi Tung, Yuan Shi Kai, Swen Yat Sen (pp. 72-81). Passing mention may also be made of the vivid way in which Dr. Scott fastens the bewildering fact of China's endless chain population of 440,000,000. within our mental grasp. Counting them one to a second for eight hours each day, would take thirty-eight years. Place them four feet apart hand to hand, and they will extend ten thousand miles beyond the moon, or encircle the earth more than a dozen times (pp. 50-51).

Dr. Scott dwells at length on China's commercial progress and reform. Her two great reforms have been the substitution of western education in place of her own classics, and the prohibition of the opium evil, in both of which reforms the labors of American missionaries are recognized (pp. 74-75). Railroad construction, spread of the English language, students coming to other lands for their education, cities refashioned along modern lines, governmental crusade against footbinding, adoption of the Western Calendar, a Republic set up that lasted a full fifteen months, and an official day of prayer proclaimed,—these are some of the straws that show how the winds of God have been blowing across the great soul of China.

In the third chapter, on "The Crises of China's Ancient Walled Cities," there is "A Study of the Turning of the Gentry from Idols." These Chinese gentry are the commercial, literary, and official aristocracy outside of the nobility. They are rich and influential, "the real rulers of China" (p. 100), with a bias toward the ancient Manchu conservatism. Dr. Scott appears to have had special opportunities for work among this class in "city missions." He recounts the great changes that have come upon these people since the grim Boxer days of 1900, reminds us of whole sections that do not have one ordained male missionary to 500,000 persons, to 700,000 to a million, and draws what to the scientific missionary is one of the axiomatic conclusions of all missionary logic, namely, that China, as well as every other country, must ultimately be evangelized by its own people (p. 114).

No less captivating is the story of the work in the villages (Ch. 4),

a work in which, having tried every means of locomotion from a donkey to a camel, Dr. Scott says he much preferred his own feet, because of the opportunities which the pedestrian in China has over the man who rides. The few incidents which he gives in this roadside evangelism and village work perhaps let the reader more into the heart of the Christian missionary and the effect of the Gospel upon the thought of the humble country-folk than anything else he has written in the whole book. After hearing of nobility, of diplomats and gentry, of resources so vast that they stagger the average brain, and being led to think in cosmic terms and of centuries yet to come, there is something balm-like to be brought down to a little wayside hut, and watch the story of Jesus, as old as the human heart and as true as God Himself, make its way, like the beams of a newborn sun, into the dark life of one whose people have been waiting milleniums for it (p. 166). The touching accounts of the burning temple and the conversion of Mrs. Li, of the woman dying of gangrene, and the poor woman away in the mountain (pp. 167-176, 217-219), the Holy Communion celebrated now in a village cabin, bereft of all outward religious suggestion, now in an assembly packed in a house with no churchly setting whatever, but amidst crudities that boldly intruded from every side; or again, worshipping in a donkey and ox stable,—such are some of the missionary experiences that thrill with new vision many of the home church, who have been trained by the conventionalities of our day to such a point that comfort and beauty have come to occupy a determinative place in the religious consciousness.

But what of the product? Let those who, with flippant precipitancy, have ever sneered at the "rice" Christians read Dr. Scott's chapter on the Boxer outrages, when the burning of incense sticks to an idol, or the signing of a mere "scrap of paper," or spitting on a cross drawn in the dirt, would have saved them. Did they do it? The thundering No which comes to this question is sufficient challenge to any who have presumed to think that the Chinese converts to Christianity, known among their own people as "second degree devils," could be bought for two dollars a head. Not only did they enter the Kingdom "through many tribulations"; once in it, they are generous, though unspeakably poor. They tithe. They pray. They love the Bible and the Communion. Dr. Scott singles out one of them, Rev. Ting Li Mei, who is honored in this book with his portrait as frontispiece, and the record of his career is given as typical (pp. 229, 282-294).

Eight good illustrations appear at various parts of the book, which is dedicated to President Woodrow Wilson, who is quoted in an appeal for the conversion of China (p. 130). For the sake of durability, we would prefer the lettering on the outside back and end to have been in gilt rather than white. The close reader will observe some minor slips: "off of" (p. 209, line 4 from the bottom) is not a pardonable redundancy. Substitute "seem" for "seems" (p. 256, l. 5 from below). Is there any authority for not spelling "homogeneity" the usual way (p. 52, l. 14)? There is an awkward sentence on page

257, line 3, which may be easily remedied by substituting the word "wealth" for "riches." Should it not be the ninety-first instead of the ninety-third Psalm on page 294, line 21?

Incidentally Dr. Scott refers to his own crowded schedule of duties (pp. 115, 207-208). Since it is true, as he says (p. 325), that "the light that shines farthest shines brightest at home," the Church can afford only to labor and pray that the message, of which Dr. Scott has given such a valuable account, may, under the blessing of God, spread in China and everywhere else, until the last trace of heathenism both at home and abroad has been swept from the earth.

Hillsboro, Ohio.

BENJAMIN F. PAIST, JR.

*The Way of Power.* By JOHN PAUL, Vice-President, Asbury College, Wilmore, Ky. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth 12mo., pp. 190. Price \$1 net.

These addresses were delivered before the Japan Convention for Deepening of Spiritual Life. One can readily believe that the gathering of missionaries and other Christian leaders which received these messages at Karnizuwa, "represented," as the author affirms, "the best intellect and the best devotion of every widely known Christian denomination," and he can further accept the statement of the author that "the meetings resulted in much definite blessing." Any summons to a "higher life," any promise of more "spiritual power" makes its appeal to devout Christians, particularly when the messages are true to the essentials of revealed religion, and when the hearers are men and women who are conscious of great responsibilities and are seeking for the highest attainments and the most fruitful service. It is however a little surprising that for such an audience, representing "every widely known Christian denomination," the speaker should have selected a message, the burden of which is so distinctly and exclusively a doctrine of the Methodist Church. It is quite as though an Episcopalian should propose to speak on "Apostolic Succession" or a Baptist on "Immersion." "The Way of Power" pointed out in these addresses is simply that one, unique, specific way, advocated by the followers of Wesley, and designated as "Christian Holiness," the "Second Blessing," and "Full Salvation." Possibly a sufficient excuse for the selection of such a theme for such an audience, may be found in the fact that this peculiar, and questionable theory of sanctification, is being widely proclaimed today by certain individuals of different denominations who are often more popular than Scriptural, sometimes more gifted with zeal than with knowledge. The theory is given many familiar titles, such as "the higher life," the "baptism of the Spirit," the "rest of faith," the "life of victory," the "filling of the Spirit." The essential error of all these messages lies in making sanctification an instantaneous experience rather than a continuing growth, and in the insistence that this experience must be subsequent to conversion and absolutely separate from "justification," instead of beginning with the acceptance of Christ as Lord and Saviour and with the New Birth then granted

to the believer. The author has but one great purpose in all his addresses; it is to bring his hearers to the point of crisis, when they may receive this "second blessing" and be "filled with the Holy Spirit." No doubt there may be "crises" in Christian life, but why emphasize one, why not expect a third and fourth as well as a "second" blessing? The writer himself quotes John Wesley (p. 162) as finally coming to the opinion that this "second blessing" this "full salvation" may be lost. Can it subsequently be regained? Would it not then be number three? Later on would not a Christian possibly need number four, and so on? This however is but the common belief of all Christians; it is fatal to the doctrine advocated by those who so emphasize, as unique, this "second blessing." The author's mistake is most evident when he takes "the believers in Samaria" as the typical New Testament case of conversion. It is true that, to attest the reality of the work wrought by a layman and to preserve the unity of the Church, the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit were withheld, in Samaria, until the coming of Peter and John; but the really typical case is that of Cornelius. No interval then elapsed between conversion and "full salvation," between justification and "the baptism of the Spirit." There need be no such interval; one who is justified is also sanctified; one who has not the Holy Spirit is not a Christian; one who accepts Christ is at the same time "baptized by one Spirit into the one body." All Christians should seek to grow in grace; and the discussions of "the way of power" and "full salvation" are helpful, not because of the errors they involve, but because they point to Christ as Lord and Master and remind us of needed purity in life, and assure us that all power in service is that of the sanctifying, guiding, Spirit of our Lord.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

*Challenge of the Church. Rationalism Refuted.* By GEORGE H. BENNETT, Former Professor of Systematic Theology, Portland University. Cincinnati: Press of the Methodist Book Concern.

This volume was written in response to a challenge to the Church issued by the Oregon Rationalist Association. This challenge included an attack upon "The Bible, The Christ, The Church," and upon Christian "character and leadership." The author defends the belief in the inspiration of Scripture, the deity of Christ, the reality of Prayer, the mission of the Church, and the immortality of the soul. Many of his readers will feel that he has conceded far too much to rationalistic positions, and that he fails to appreciate the scriptural doctrine of "inspiration" or the real nature of "creation" and of "prayer"; however, the book is an earnest endeavor to help stem the tide of prevalent unbelief.

*The New Church for the New Times.* By WILLIAM ALLEN HARPER, LL.D., President Eton College. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 12mo. cloth, pp. 153. Price 75c net.

This "discussion of principles" is not conducted with a special view



to conditions which may obtain "after the war," but is designed to call the Christian church to a wider social service. The insistence is that the Church must place a more definite emphasis upon the social elements of the Gospel and must be equipped for a more definite social programme. The author balances his statements, however, by declaring the continuing need of individual regeneration and by an appeal for more of reverence in Christian life and worship.

*Making Good in the Ministry.* By PROF. A. T. ROBERTSON, M.A., D.D., Professor of New Testament Interpretation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company Publishers. 12mo. cloth, pp. 174. Price \$1 net.

From the few familiar facts in the life of John Mark, the helper of Paul and Barnabas and Peter, the author draws suggestive lessons for the modern minister, particularly dwelling upon the early failure and the later fidelity of one who finally became the biographer of Christ. With the publication of this, his twentieth volume, Professor Robertson rounds out his thirty years of teaching and training men for the Christian ministry, and he dedicates this little book to his former students.

Princeton, N. J.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

*Love in Creation and Redemption, a Study in the Teachings of Jesus Compared with Modern Thought.* By DWIGHT GODDARD. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1918. pp. 278. \$1.25 net.

While the inspiration and authority of Scripture are generally recognized, yet at times a subjective and arbitrary standard of judgment is set up. Thus Matt. 18:16-18 is said to be "most certainly an interpolation by some officious ecclesiastic, who was seeking to bolster up clerical authority" (p. 45). Yet the standard thus recognized is sparingly used. The virgin birth is accepted, though surely it is going beyond all warrant of reason or Scripture to say that if we give it up, "we give up the major part of our evidence of that [Christ's] Divinity" (p. 100). It is the resurrection to which the Scripture appeals, and not the virgin birth, as the historic evidence of his divine nature. The treatment of the Gospels is defective upon the side both of history and criticism. While a passage which does not accord with the author's view may be summarily rejected, he accepts as genuine the closing verses of Mark.

A large part is assigned to Joanna, wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, in the composition of the Third Gospel, so that we read again and again of Matthew, Mark and Joanna. She was the author of three sections of the Gospel, the Nativity Section (chs. 1, 2); the Travel Section (chs. ix: 51-18:14); and the Post-Resurrection Section (chs. xxiii. 54-xxiv. 53). The reasons given in support of this view are wholly insufficient. It is not true of John that in his report of the teachings of Jesus he places "the first emphasis on his exposition of the Kingdom of God" (p. 147). It is just here that we find one of the characteristic differences between John and the earlier evangelists. In the



Synoptic Gospels the Kingdom is the center of Jesus' teaching; in the Fourth Gospel it is Himself. They are the Gospels of the Kingdom, John is the Gospel of the King. What could be further from the truth than the statement that "Jesus was too modest himself to press" his divine Sonship, though he longed to have it recognized by his disciples (p. 120)? That Sonship is the center and soul of the Fourth Gospel, and the theme of all his teaching recorded there.

While this Gospel is not accepted as the work of the son of Zebedee, yet it is held to be "fully as reliable a record of John's teachings, as Mark's Gospel is of Peter's teachings" (p. 118). The reasons assigned for denying the apostolic authorship are "its emphasis on ecclesiasticism and ceremonialism"; "the selection and arrangement of material indicate a purpose to supplement and explain the facts and teaching of our Lord as though they were well known and accepted but now needed interpretation"; "the orderly arrangement of the book with its stated topic" (p. 117, 118). He who finds ecclesiasticism and ceremonialism prominent in the Fourth Gospel brings them with him to the study of the book. They are not in the Gospel, but are imposed upon it. And the other reasons given do not at all conflict with the view that the Gospel was written by John the apostle in the later years of his long life.

The Kingdom of God is defined in vague and elusive phrase as the cosmic spiritual life (p. 20). No place is found in the conception of the Kingdom for an ideal society, yet surely the Kingdom in its out-working and manifestation must issue in a society in which the voice of God is perfectly obeyed. The petitions of the Lord's prayer, it is affirmed, are all concerned with spiritual needs alone. The daily bread for which he bids us ask is the word of God (p. 25). We are glad to believe that our Lord told us of God's care for all our needs, of the body as of the spirit; and taught us to pray for daily bread as for daily grace.

Love is magnified throughout, but little is made of righteousness. Naturally therefore the substitutionary doctrine of the Atonement is rejected. "'God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him would not perish but should have eternal life.' This giving was not a single sacrificial act to pay a legal debt, a substitution for punishment, and example of highest potency, it is a continuing self-expression of the Divine love, 'that ye might have eternal Life'" (p. 134). But how could love express itself more clearly and effectively than by taking the sinner's place and bearing his guilt? There is no antithesis here, as is sometimes represented. We are not compelled to choose between love and substitution. They are vitally and indissolubly united—love the root of sacrifice, sacrifice the fruit of love.

In harmony with the purely spiritual meaning attached to the Kingdom of God it is affirmed that Jesus shall not return in person, but only in the power of the Spirit (p. 48). That "Jesus has only the Aramaic tongue in which to express himself" (p. 16) is of course open to question. On p. 151 *write* should be *unite*.

The second part of the volume consists of reviews of several books, Osborn's *Origin of Life*, Bergson's *Elan Vital*, Eucken's *Spiritual Life*, Tuckwell's *Perfect Experience*.

It cannot be said on the whole that the volume adds appreciably to our understanding of the great theme with which it is concerned.

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

*The Joyful Hours of Jesus.* By J. GIBSON LOWRIE, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1918. Pp. 203. \$1.25 net.

The book is well written, and deals in an interesting and instructive way with the brighter aspect of our Lord's experience. The prophet spoke of him as a man of sorrows, but Jesus himself preferred to speak of his joy, his peace, the fruit of his intimate and unbroken fellowship with God. It is this side of his life that is aptly brought to our attention here.

On page 104 1 Peter should be 2 Peter.

A number of the chapters bear only a remote relation to the theme of the book, and the impression is given that the material was found insufficient, and sermons upon various subjects were added to fill out the volume.

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

*Ancient Peoples At New Tasks.* By WILLARD PRICE. The Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. New York City. 1918. Pp. xi, 208. 60 cts.

This brief survey of industrial missions is the text-book recommended for mission study classes during the season of 1918-1919. Six interesting and well-written chapters tell the story of the need and success of the industrial element in the mission fields of South America, Japan, China, Philippines, India, and Africa; while the seventh and final chapter unfolds seven reasons for industrial missions.

Altogether, it is an attractive little book. The titles to the chapters are peculiarly happy, and indeed poetic. "The Hand Clasp of Neighbors," of course, it is South America; "The Land of Cherry Blossoms and Smoke Stacks,"—Japan; the spiritual necessity of a reforestation of China is succinctly pointed out under the heading "Trees and Men"; Africa is "The Golden Whirlpool." Missions are no longer dry, and one reason is that they are being written up, as Mr. Price writes, with subject-matter that convinces and in a style that attracts. James S. Gale (*Korean Sketches*, 1898) made us see Korea by his description of the Korean pony and the Korean boy, and in like manner Mr. Price makes us see the place and power of industrial initiative and persistency in the coming program of our missionaries. Read here of Dr. H. C. Tucker's work in Rio de Janeiro, how through him Brazil had its first public playground. See Joseph Baillie, of Nanking, instituting Arbor Day in China to meet the famine peril. Look at Sam Higginbottom, teaching two hundred million farmers in India how to farm.

Is it nothing to us that a Chilean farm-hand works for twenty-five cents a day? that a South American boy to-day may be bought for ten dollars? that Japanese children scarcely in their teens work from six to six, and are besides victims of the unsanitary dormitory system that prevails in the Japanese factory? that "eighty per cent of the conversation of the common Chinese has to do with food"? that in India labor, where they farm as they did five hundred years ago, can be gotten for eight cents a day?

Very rarely one detects, not the over-emphasis on the industrial, but an insufficient accent on the evangelistic side of the missionary motive (see pages 186 and 198). This is the only peril that a presentation of this kind is likely to face. While the industrial side of missions is most aptly and beautifully given, it is nowhere the intention of the author to lead any reader to the conclusion that such efforts are anything more than a very necessary and humanitarian means to the higher spiritual end.

*Hillsboro, Ohio.*

BENJAMIN F. PAIST, JR.

*Old Truths and New Facts.* Christian Life and Thinking as Modified by the Great War. The Cole Lectures for 1918 delivered before Vanderbilt University. By CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D.D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1918. Pp. 223. \$1.25 net.

This is an inspiring volume. The thought is clear and strong, the style chaste and vigorous. The purpose indicated in the Preface is admirably fulfilled: "These lectures have for their aim the indication of a few of the points at which it is reasonable to expect a modification of Christian opinion to be brought about by the great war. It is hazardous to make predictions at a time like this as to the total outcome of the war, for no one can declare with assurance what the war is going to accomplish. It is not likely, however, that there will be any revolution, any changes in the Church and her teachings. The prophets of evil who declare that the Church will be hopelessly crippled are certainly mistaken, so also perhaps are the prophets who picture in glowing colors a church intensely spiritualized and completely made over." These sane and sober words form a refreshing contrast to some of the predictions with which we have grown familiar.

The Lectures are entitled: The Conception of Jesus Christ, The Appreciation of Vicarious Suffering, The Idea and Practice of Prayer, The Attitude of the Church, The Use of the Bible, The Estimate of the World Mission of Christianity, Christ is Exalted upon the Cross and upon the Throne.

The lecture on Vicarious Suffering recognizes the results in the truth that Jesus died in place of the sinner. And it is shown that his vicarious death is the ultimate expression of a universal law. "The doctrine of vicarious suffering is fundamental in our religion. . . . One of the colossal facts being burned into the consciousness of the entire race is the fact of vicarious suffering. . . . The world has always been full

of vicarious suffering. Everything has been bought by a price. The world has never gotten on save by the sacrifice of the lovers of progress. It is only because the innocent have suffered for the guilty and the strong have sacrificed themselves for the weak and the righteous have borne the burden of the wicked that civilization has become possible. The world has many kinds of suffering, but no form of it is so divine or so impressive as vicarious suffering. The brightest page in the life of any community is the page which tells the story of how men and women have suffered for others. . . . When, therefore, men hereafter sneer at the doctrine of vicarious suffering as a piece of savage superstition, a remnant of primitive thinking which the world has carried far too long, let us ask them to open history and find out for themselves if it is not true that without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins. . . . You will not find the secret of Jesus' power in the Sermon on the Mount, or in His parables, or in His miracles. It is to be found where He told us to look for it—in His death."

The whole lecture is worthy of study, and so is the whole volume.

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

*The Experiment of Faith*, a Plea for Reality in Religion. By the Right Reverend CHARLES FISKE, D.D., LL.D., Bishop Coadjutor of Central New York. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1918. Pp. 180. \$1.00 net.

This is a volume of addresses to college men on the great themes of religion, and it is excellently adapted to its purpose. Emphasis is laid throughout on works as the fruit and evidence of faith. It is, as the title imports, a plea for reality in religion. Profession is worthless without practice. The thought is clear and strong, and is admirably expressed. Christ is honored and adored as the Divine Redeemer.

Our Lord did not inquire, "What think ye of Christ?" (p. 111), but "What think ye of *the* Christ?" He does not ask the Pharisees, What is your opinion of me?, but, What is your opinion of the promised Messiah? We read that "Christ never came among men, saying, 'I am God; you must accept it and believe'." (p. 118). But that is just what he did say. It is the distinctive message of the Fourth Gospel. It is not pleasant to read of "the mistake of resting our belief in Christ's divine life on the frail foundation of an acceptance of the Gospel account of his birth" (p. 121). The Gospel account can never be a frail foundation, but is the rock on which faith securely rests.

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

## GENERAL LITERATURE

*On the Manuscripts of God*. By ELLEN BURNS SHERMAN. The Abingdon Press: New York, Cincinnati. 8vo. pp. 114. 1918.

A very graceful and a wonderfully sympathetic interpretation of nature, the "manuscripts of God." Without any theological bias or intention, it is pervaded by a deeply religious and Christian spirit;

and though the author does not herself draw the theistic inference, he would be a very stupid reader who could keep from doing so.

*The Science of Mental Healing.* By E. L. EATON. The Abingdon Press: New York and Cincinnati. Pamph., pp. 53. 1918.

An admirable little book. We have seldom found so much common sense in any volume small or great. True throughout, it is interesting and suggestive everywhere. It believes that man is composite and that soul and body influence one another. It distinguishes between functional and organic disease. It holds that the mind can often, if not always, cure functional disorders, but cannot do so in the case of organic troubles. It distinguishes between divine healing and mental healing; and it shows from the Bible that while the former can proceed without means or medicine, that does not imply that we are authorized to try to heal without the physician or the surgeon. We should be glad to see this pamphlet distributed broadcast.

*The Mythology of All Races*, in thirteen Volumes. By LOUIS HERBERT GRAY, A.M., PH.D., Editor: GEORGE FOOTE MOORE, A.M., D.D., LL.D., Consulting Editor.—Vol. III. *Celtic*, by JOHN ARNOTT MACCULLOCH, Hon., D.D. (St. Andrews) and *Slavic*, by JAN MÁCHAL, PH.D., with a chapter on *Baltic Mythology* by the Editor. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 8vo., pp. x, 398. 1918.

This splendid volume is fully up to the standard set by the others of this great series already published. These others are: Vol. I, Vol. IX, Vol. X., reviewed in our issue of Jan. 1917; and Vol. XII, reviewed in our issue of July 1918.

*Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.* Under the Direction of the Departments of History, Political Economy, and Political Science.—*Sumptuary Law in Nürnberg, A Study in Paternal Government.* By KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD, PH.D., Assistant Professor of History in Delaware College. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 8vo., pamph., pp. 139. 1918. *The Privileges and Immunities of State Citizenship.* By ROGER HOWELL, PH.D., Second Lieutenant 17th Infantry, U.S.A. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 8vo., pamph., pp. 120. 1918.

Two thorough, interesting, pertinent, and in every way scholarly discussions.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

*Public Speaking for High Schools.* By DWIGHT EVERETT WATKINS, A.M., Professor of Public Speaking and Instructor in English Literature, Knox College; Knox Exchange Professor, Harvard University. New York: American Book Company. 12mo., pp. 183. 75 cents.

*Principles of Expressive Reading.* By OLAF MORGAN NORLIE, PH.D., PH.D., S.T.D., Litt.D. Boston: The Gorham Press. Pp. 187. 1918. \$1.50.

*Oral Reading and Public Speaking.* By JOHN R. PELSMA, PH.M., Pro-



fessor of Public Speaking, Oklahoma A. & M. College. Boston: Richard G. Badger. Pp. 499. \$2.00.

Professor Watkins was formerly a high school teacher, and this book was written with special consideration of the need of a book not too technical or detailed to be used by young scholars, and yet covering the essential principles of delivery. This has resulted in a book that is admirably adapted to the needs of older men who wish to get clear, simple, concise and practical suggestions about delivery. It does not take up the philosophy of expression; it does not explain the reasons for the rules, but the common sense of the reader will usually approve of them. Of late the tendency in teaching elocution has been to make little account of rules and much of the principles and philosophy of expression, to strengthen the mental impression, and trust to clear thinking and vivid imagination to produce an adequate expression. No doubt the old methods tended to overemphasize the details of manner, and to make delivery artificial. But in this book, which deals with the simplest things, the student will see the reason for each exercise, and will avoid any merely mechanical result. Considerable space is given to gesture, and many illustrations are given to make directions plain. The treatment is empirical, but the student will find many valuable suggestions. The book is not original in ideas, neither is it a compilation of old ideas. The author has given what he has made his own and has found valuable in his experience as a teacher.

*Principles of Expressive Reading* was written as a thesis for a Ph.D. at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Norlie read extensively in the preparation of his thesis, and writes as a student of books, rather than as one who has had experience in teaching or in public reading. His purpose is "to tell how to read aloud." "Expressive reading is the utterance of the message of a selection in a natural and effective way. By natural is meant that the utterance should be in the reader's conversational tone, or as near to it as the message and the occasion will permit. By effective is meant that the utterance shall be given with an emphasis suited to bring out the message for the occasion. By message is meant the thought and feeling and purpose of the author." In his preface he reviews the attempts that have been made to discover the principles underlying expressive reading, and the methods used to teach it; and in his thesis he develops four of these principles that he finds to be essential. These are, Getting a Perspective; Studying the Details; Drill; and Criticism. Getting the Perspective means a study of the author's life, character and relation to his times; the occasion and purpose of the selection; its thought and feeling; and its form. Studying the Details is finding the meaning and pronunciation of the words, their grouping, and the central idea of each group. Drill is chiefly mental, recalling the setting, the contents and the exact words. Criticism is the comparison of the reading with the reader's conversational style. This is his criterion of expressive reading, and would naturally be the end of the thesis;

but he adds twenty pages of description of the organs of speech, and finishes by giving more than a third of the book to phonetics.

*Oral Reading and Public Speaking* covers the whole subject of oral expression, except the purely dramatic. In the first part, treating of the ideas and emotions of another, the technique, which is used both in reading and in speaking, is explained very fully and clearly, and an abundance of selections for drill are given. The second part treats the expression of the speaker's own thought and emotions. It discusses all the problems of public speaking; gathering and arranging material, the essential elements of the speech, characteristics of audiences, qualities needed in a speaker, gesture, forms of public address, and methods of preparing and delivering a speech. No book can take the place of a teacher in criticism and suggestions for individual needs, but this book is so complete, concise and clear that it can be heartily recommended to any one who desires to make a thorough study of oral reading and public speaking.

Princeton.

HENRY W. SMITH.

*Fundamentals of Debate.* By H. F. COVINGTON. New York: Scribner's.

This book by Professor Covington may be said to be the fruit of his long and successful service in the chair of Public Speaking and Debate at Princeton, and thus happily unifies the theory of debate and its practical illustration on the public platform.

After a brief explanatory Introduction, the author divides his discussion into two primary parts,—Logical Organization and Presentation. Under the first, he treats of Briefs, Argument and Evidence, giving special emphasis to Argument. Under the second part, he discusses Imagination in Argument, Suggestion and Instruments of Suggestion, and under the caption—Appendices—he gives Specimen Briefs, Questions and Exercises, the study of Imagery, addresses of Lloyd George and President Wilson, a valuable Bibliography, and Resolutions for Debate.

The first impression which one receives from examining the treatise, is its thoroughness. It is aptly entitled, *Fundamentals of Debate*, as the whole discussion is founded on the basic principles of logic and philosophy. In this respect, the volume is unique and original, giving a substantial ground work never before presented in the study of debate.

In Part Second there is a study of the imagination as related to argument which, as far as we are aware, is absolutely new and full of interest both on the philosophic and literary side, stressing the need and function of imagination in argument. The treatise, at this point, is a valuable study in psychology as related to logical expression and lifts the entire subject of debate above its commonly accepted level to a high intellectual plane. Professor Covington's successful use of historical and literary reference enhances the value and interest of his work and confirms the positions and points of view that he assumes.

The volume is a distinct contribution to the subject in hand and should commend itself to all teachers and students and general readers who are interested in ascertaining what the fundamental principles of argument are, and how they may be successfully applied.

Princeton.

T. W. HUNT.

*The Mirror of Gesture, being the Abhinaya Darpana of Nandikesvara* translated into English by ANANDA COOMARASWAMY and GOPALA KRISTNAYYA DUGGIRALA. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1917. Pp. 70. \$1.50.

*The Mirror of Gesture* is an account of the meaning of gesture as used on the stage in India. It is a strange book for Occidentals, with whom gesture has never been developed into a symbolic language. With us gesture is a spontaneous movement expressing emotion. Various attempts have been made to find a philosophical explanation of the origin and meaning of the different gestures, but no attempt has ever been made, except in the deaf and dumb sign language, to give arbitrary meanings to postures or movements. In India a highly elaborated and artificial system has grown up, which must be learned as a word language is learned. It is a deliberate art. Nothing is left to chance. The actor no more yields to the impulse of the moment in the use of gesture than in the spoken words. As the text of a play, or the score of a musical composition is not varied by the performer, no more is the accepted gesture language. The appeal of an Indian actor's art can only be felt by one who understands its meaning, and so has little interest for the ordinary European spectator. Such a system could only be developed gradually. It is claimed that this one was revealed by Brahma to Bharata in the aeon before this. One can see that some gestures had the same natural meanings that they have for us, and can trace the changes in meaning, as we trace the changes in words. It is interesting as a curiosity, but has become so arbitrary and conventional that it has no practical value for us.

Princeton.

HENRY W. SMITH.

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## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

*American Church Monthly*, New York, October: ARTHUR C. A. HALL, *The Catholic Theory of the Ministry*; FREDERICK J. KINSMAN, *The End of an Era*; W. BERTRAND STEVENS, *The Parish Church and the Army Camp*; H. ADGE PRICHARD, *Reality and Reconstruction*; LATTA GRISWOLD, *Has the Church a Voice?*; JOHN C. MCKIM, *Some Dangers of a Hasty Eirenic*; KENNETH MACKENZIE, *Do We Really Believe?*; MAURICE PICARD, *A Recovery of the Future in Christian Experience*. *The Same*, November: LOUIS I. DUBLIN, *The Church and the Population Question*; *Transitions*; RICHARDSON WRIGHT, *Commonsense*; HAMILTON SCHUYLER, *The Lord's Day in Catholic Thought*

and Observance; JULIUS M. WINSLOW, *The Perfect Teacher*; CAROLINE F. LITTLE, *The Month of the Holy Dead*; PERCY T. FENN, *The Religious Education of the Young*; FREDERICK W. DICKINSON, *The Presence; Does it Pay?*

*American Journal of Theology*, Chicago, October: HENRY B. ROBINS, *The Theological Curriculum and a Teaching Ministry*; F. P. STARRATT, *The Demands of the Rural Church upon the Theological Curriculum*; A. CLINTON WATSON, *Primary Problem for an Empirical Theology*, iii; JAMES W. THOMPSON, *Church and State in Mediaeval Germany*, iv; GEORGE W. RICHARDS, *The Church and the Religion of Russia*.

*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oberlin, October: L. FRANKLIN GRUBER, *Theory of a Finite and Developing Deity Examined*; DONALD B. MACLANE, *The Lord's Prayer in a Dozen Languages*; A. E. WHATHAM, *The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology*; HAROLD M. WIENER, "The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology"; *A Theological Reminiscence; Basic Facts for Sociologists*.

*Catholic Historical Review*, Washington, October: HUGH T. HENRY, Stephen Girard; FREDERICK C. HOPKINS, *The Catholic Church in British Honduras*; JAMES A. ROBERTSON, *The Aglipay Schism in the Philippines*.

*Church Quarterly Review*, London, October: ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, *Church Reconstruction: The Administrative Reform; Recollections and Letters of Some Victorian Liberals*; H. L. GOUDGE, *The Faith of a Modern Churchman*; WILBERFORCE JENKINSON, *London Colleges, Hospitals, and Schools in XVIth and XVIIth Century Literature*, ii; CUTHBERT H. TURNER, *The Church Order of St. Hippolytus*, ii; H. J. CHAYTOR, *The Body Broken*.

*East & West*, London, October: R. K. SORABJI, *East and West*; E. H. WHITLEY, *National Dances and Christianity in Chota Nagpur*; BISHOP SCOTT, *The Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui*; W. GOUDIE, *Mass Movements in India*; K. W. S. KENNEDY, *Dangers of Over-specialisation in Mission Work*; C. FOXLEY, *Tenrikyo, a new Japanese Sect*; S. J. EDWIN, *Christianity and the Arya Samaj*; A. M. KNIGHT, *The First Stage in the Training of a Missionary*.

*Expositor*, London, September: MAURICE JONES, "The Early History of the Church and the Ministry"; B. W. BACON, *John as Preacher of Justification by Faith*; FRANK GRANGER, *Revolutionary Significance of the Gospel*; JAMES MOFFATT, *A New Commentary upon Philippians*; VACHER BURCH, *Problems of the Letter of James*, Chapter 3; T. H. WEIR, *Variant Numbers in the Gospels*. *The Same*, October: H. A. A. KENNEDY, *St. Paul's Conception of the Knowledge of God*; F. R. TENNANT, *Doctrine of the Trinity: in Dogmatic Theology*; FRANK GRANGER, *The Revolutionary Significance of the Gospel*; H. H. B. AYLES, *Psalm cx*; N. MACNICOL, *Transmigration and Karma, their Influence in Living Hinduism*; J. HUGH MICHAEL, *Origin of St. John 1:13*. *The Same*, November: A. D. MARTIN, *The Ascension of Christ*; H. R. MACKINTOSH, *The Conception of a Finite God*; HAROLD



SMITH, Earliest Interpretations of Our Lord's Teaching on Divorce, J. P. ARENDZEN, Re-writing St. Matthew; G. H. WHITAKER, "Naked and Laid Open"; A. VAN HOONACKER, Is the Narrative of the Fall a Myth?

*Expository Times*, Edinburgh, September: Notes of Recent Exposition; C. W. INGLIS WARDROP, Is the War 're-creating our Supreme Divinity'?; A. R. GORDON, Pioneers in the Study of Old Testament Poetry; A. R. HOWELL, The Re-discovery of the Psalms. *The Same*, October: Notes of Recent Exposition; What I believe in and Why—I believe in the Saint; JAMES MOFFATT, Discerning the Body; A. R. HOWELL, Re-discovery of the Psalms; ROBERT MACKINTOSH, Christianity in History; D. R. FOTHERINGHAM, The Future of the Revised Version.

*Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge, October: CHARLES R. LANMAN, The Hindu Yoga-System; ALFRED FAWKES, The Papacy and the Modern State; LEIGHTON PARKS, Phillips Brooks; MAURICE DE WULF, Western Philosophy and Theology in the Thirteenth Century.

*Interpreter*, London, October: W. EMERY BARNES, A Pre-Christian Apostle to the Gentiles; J. VERNON BARTLET, Unity, Orders, Sacraments; E. F. JOURDAIN, Recent Philosophy and Human Immortality; T. HERBERT BINDLEY, Original Meaning of Matthew 28:19; H. D. A. MAJOR, The Christian Priesthood; A. C. BOUQUET, Authority of the Bible Doctrine of God; L. W. GRENSTED, Evolution and God; FRED J. POWICKE, Hallowed be thy Name; H. BALMFORTH, Reunion; a Neglected Aspect.

*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, July-October: JACOB HOSCHANDER, Book of Esther in the Light of History; M. H. SEGAL, Studies in the Books of Samuel, ii; SOLOMON ZEITLIN, Megillat Taanit as a Source for Jewish Chronology and History in the Hellenistic Periods; C. DUSCHINSKY, The Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London, 1756-1842; JACOB MANN, Responsa of the Babylonian Geonim as a Source of Jewish History; MEYER WAXMAN, The Philosophy of Don Hasdai Crescas.

*Journal of Theological Studies*, London, July: A. WILMART, *Le de Lazaro de Potamius: La Collection des 38 homélies latines de Saint Jean Chrysostome*; G. L. MARRIOTT, *The de Instituto Christiano: The Tractate of Symeon Metaphrastes*; C. J. CADOUX, Chronological Divisions of Acts; T. H. BINDLEY, The Lord's Command to Baptize; M. ESPOSITO, Notes on the Latin Writings of St. Patrick; M. R. JAMES, *Salathiel qui et Esdras*; H. SMITH, Sources of Victor of Antioch's Commentary.

*Lutheran Quarterly*, Gettysburg, October: L. S. KEYSER, The Bible a Book of Religion—and More; JOHN WAGNER, Advantages and Disadvantages of a Long Pastorate; PRESERVED SMITH, Complete List of Works of Luther in English; G. C. LEONARD, The Native African; T. B. STORK, The New Socialism; CHARLES F. STECK, The Development of the Lutheran Altar; J. L. NEVE, The Union Movements between Lutherans and Reformed; J. M. HANTZ, Anticipations of Christian Theology in the writings of Heathen and Jewish Philosophers.



*Methodist Review*, New York, October: R. J. COOKE, On German Ideas of the State; LYNN H. HOUGH, Making Theology Live; CHARLES G. SHAW, Gods and Half-Gods; F. B. STOCKDALE, The Biter Bitten; H. H. MEYER, Place of Teaching and the Literature of Teaching in Christian Advance; A. C. ARMSTRONG, Peace, War, and Morals; EDWIN LEWIS, A Devotional Classic: John Keble's "Christian Year"; W. J. WILSON, A War Prophecy from Homer; WILLIAM HOULISTON, Psychological and Fundamental Cause of the Present War.

*Methodist Review Quarterly*, Nashville, October: FRANK M. THOMAS, Is There a Moral Order?; J. C. C. NEWTON, Our World Missionary Program; JAMES CANNON, What I Saw in Great Britain and France in March and April, 1918; A. M. PIERCE, "Mary Slessor of Calabar"; CHARLES M. MEEKS, Physical Basis of Personality; HAROLD M. WIENER, Exodus in Egyptian History; H. W. ROGERS AND FRANK M. THOMAS, Status of the Negro; IVAN L. HOLT, The Old Testament and War; CARL HOLLIDAY, Ancestral Advertising; HENRY F. HARRIS, Four Psalms.

*Moslem World*, Cooperstown, October: SAMUEL W. ZWEMER, Mobilization of Prayer; FERGUSON DAVIE, Patience of the Saints; What Christianity May Add to Islam; SAMUEL W. ZWEMER, Animistic Elements in Mohammedan Prayer; THOMAS B. HEALD, Moslems in the Caucasus during the War; HARVEY R. CALKINS, Mohammedans and the Unseen Presence; Education of Women—A Mecca Paper; YU SHAO CHAI, A Chinese Moslem Tract; PAUL W. HARRISON, Al Riadh, the Capital of Nejd.

*Reformed Church Review*, Lancaster, October: HENRY H. RANCK, Christianizing International Relations; RUFUS W. MILLER, The War and Church Unity; HENRY H. APPLE, The American College in War Time and the Future Development of the Country; EDWARD A. G. HERMANN, The Moral and Religious Element in Modern Fiction; PAUL S. LEINBACH, The Church and Reconstruction after the War.

*Review and Expositor*, Louisville, October: H. WHEELER ROBINSON, Theology after the War; W. W. LANDRUM, James Marion Frost: Defender of the Faith; J. H. FARMER, The Death of Christ in the Gospels; DAVID F. ESTES, Eschatological Discourse of Jesus; Z. T. CODY, The Work of the Holy Spirit; RUFUS W. WEAVER, Relation of Organized Christianity to the Rural Schools of the South; W. A. JARREL, Adoption not in the Bible Salvation.

*Union Seminary Review*, Richmond, October: E. C. GORDON, The Christian's God or What?; ANDREW W. BLACKWOOD, The Young Minister in his Study; W. H. T. SQUIRES, William Maxwell; E. C. CALDWELL, Power of Christ—A Book Study of the Gospel According to Mark; J. LEIGHTON STUART, The Chinese Ministry.

*Yale Review*, New Haven, October: ALBERT B. HART, The New United States; JOHN GALSWORTHY, American and Briton; RALPH A. CRAM, Reims Cathedral; K. K. KAWAKAMI, Japan's Difficult Position; C. REINOLD NOYES, Fallacies of War Finance; E. G. NOURSE, The Revolution in Farming; WILBUR CROSS, The Legend of Henry Fielding; HENRY S. CANBY, Tanks; KATHARINE F. GEROULD, The War Novels.

*Bilychnis*, Roma, Luglio-Agosto: A. MARIO ROSSI, Giovanni Hus, l'eroe della nazione boema—L'influenza germanica nella Boemia preussita; GIOVANNI PIOLI, Il Cattolicesimo tedesco e il "Centro Cattolico"; LUISA G. BENSO, Il sentimento religioso nell'opera di Alfredo Oriani, i; DANTE LATTES, Il filosofo del rinascimento spirituale ebraico; ROMOLO MURRI, La "Religione" di Alfredo Loisy; MARIO PUGLISI, Realta e idealita religiosa. *The Same*, Sett.-Ottobre: GIOVANNI E. MEILLE, Psicologia di combattenti cristiani. Note e documenti; R. NAZZARI, Le concezioni idealistiche del male; GIOVANNI PIOLI, L' "Etica della Simpatia" nella "Teoria dei sentimenti morali" di Adamo Smith; DANTE LATTES, Il filosofo del rinascimento spirituale ebraico.

*Ciencia Tomista*, Madrid, Julio-Agosto: JOSÉ DE LA MANO, Fray Felipe de Meneses; LA REDACCION, Nota necrológica de don José de la Mano; ALBERTO COLUNGA, El cardenal Cayetano y los problemas de introducción bíblica; LUIS G. A. GETINO, La Unión de los cristianos; JOSÉ M. BODÓN, El centenario séptimo de la Patrona de Barcelona. *The Same*, Septiembre-October: LUIS A. GETINO, El Padre Noberta del Prado; V. BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, Catedráticos de Sagrada Escritura en la Universidad de Alcalá durante el siglo xvi; HIPÓLITO SANCHO, La filosofía del Derecho penal en la "Suma" del maestro fray Pedro de Ledesma; P. LUMBRERAS, La Duda metódica de Descartes; JUAN G. DE ARINTERO, Alteraciones y reconstitución de una personalidad.

*Recherches de Science Religieuse*, Paris, Octobre-December: JULES LEBRETON, L'ignorance du jour du Jugment; ANDRÉ BREMOND, Notes sur la religion de Pindare; ADHÉMAR D'ALÈS, Le diacre Pontius; MARC DUBRUEL, Un épisode de l'histoire de l'Église de France au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle: Nicolas Pavillon évêque d'Alet; Etienne de Caulet évêque de Pamiers.



